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ART. IX.—*Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurūfī Sect.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

I. THE LITERATURE.

IN my *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library* (pp. 69–86) I described, at what may have seemed rather inordinate length, a work called the *Jāvidān-i-Kabir*, which aroused my interest in the highest degree. The interest of this work, as I there pointed out, is twofold: it embodies very remarkable doctrines, apparently akin to those of the Isma‘īlīs or Shī‘ites of the “Sect of the Seven”; and considerable portions of it are written in a peculiar dialect of Persian which certainly merits a fuller study. Concerning the author of this work, Faḡlu’llāh b. Abī Muḡammad of Tabrīz, called “al-Ḥurūfī,” we know little (except what may be gleaned from his writings) beyond what is contained in the brief notice of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. A.H. 852), cited by Flügel at pp. vii–viii of the preface to the second volume of his edition of *Ilājī Khulfa*. “Faḡlu’llāh,” says Ibn Ḥajar, “the son of Abū Muḡammad of Tabrīz, was one of those innovators who subject themselves to ascetic discipline. Imbued with heretical doctrine, he finally produced the sect known as the *Ḥurūfīs* [from حروف, ‘Letters’], pretending that the Letters [of the alphabet] were metamorphoses of men, together with many other idle and baseless fancies. He invited the Amīr Timūr the Lame [Tamerlane] to adopt his heresies, but he desired to slay him. And this came to the knowledge of his son (with whom he had sought refuge), and he struck off his head with his own hand. And when this was made known to Timūr, he demanded

his head and his body, and burned them both, in this year, viz. in the year [A.H.] 804" (=A.D. 1401-2). From the *Jāridān-i-Kabīr* it seems clear enough that Faḡlu'llāh pretended that himself was a prophet and his book an inspired revelation; and from sundry records of visions with which the Cambridge MS. concludes (I have not had an opportunity of comparing the Leyden or the Constantinople codices), it would further appear that the period of his religious activity began not later than A.H. 786 (=A.D. 1384).

Some time after the publication of my *Catalogue*, my friend Mr. E. J. W. Gibb called my attention to the fact that the Turkish poet *Nesīmī* (who was put to death for heterodoxy in A.H. 820) is, in several *tazkiras* of Turkish poets, called *al-Ḥurūfī*, a term of which he had not understood the precise significance until he read my notice of the *Jāridān-i-Kabīr*. He showed me several of the notices consecrated to *Nesīmī* in these *tazkiras*; and the allusion to Faḡlu'llāh contained in the following verse of his cited by one of them afforded yet more conclusive evidence that the "heresy" for which the Turkish poet suffered death was the heresy of "Faḡlu'llāh the Ḥurūfī":—

علم حکمتدن بلورشد گل برو گل ای حکیم
من نسیمی منطقندن دگله فضل الہی گور

"If thou would'st know of the science of philosophy [or of the love of wisdom], come, come hither, O philosopher;
Hearken thou to the speech of *Nesīmī*, and behold Faḡlu'llāh!
[or the Excellence of God]."

Already, therefore, it began to appear probable that this Ḥurūfī sect enjoyed a certain importance, duration, and diffusion; and this conjecture derived further support from my discovery in the Bibliothèque Nationale, during a fortnight spent at Paris in the Easter vacation of 1897, of two manuscripts (*Ancien Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Suppl. Pers.*, 107) containing several other Ḥurūfī treatises. These manuscripts, before going further, I will briefly describe.

Ancien Fonds Pers., 24.

This MS., a volume of eighty-six leaves, is divided into three parts as follows:—

- (1) The *Istiwā-nāma* (ff. 1^b–59^b) of *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Huseyn b. Muḥammad al-Huseynī of Astarābād*,¹ of which another copy, dated A.H. 1043, is briefly described by Dr. Paul Horn, of Strassburg, amongst the Persian and Turkish MSS. of the Vatican (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. li, p. 12). This copy ends (f. 59^b)—

تَمَّتِ الْكِتَابُ بِعَوْنِ فَضْلِ قَاتِحِ الْبَابِ سَنَةِ ٩٧٠

“The book was concluded by the help of *Faḡl[u'llāh]* the Opener of the Gate, A.H. 970” (=A.D. 1562–3). This, of course, is the date of transcription, but a passage on f. 23^a shows that the work must have been composed subsequently to A.H. 828. As regards its title, it refers, no doubt, to the verse of the Qur'ān, “then He [God] ascended upon His Throne” (ثُمَّ اسْتَوَىٰ عَلَىٰ عَرْشِهِ), constantly cited in the *Jāvidān-i Kabīr* and other Hurūfī books.

- (II) An allegorical Mathnavī poem (ff. 62^b–80^b), in the hexameter *ramal* metre, describing Alexander's search for the Water of Life, and the questions addressed by him to the *Pīr-i-murshīd* (presumably Khīẓr), with their answers. It begins—

ابتدا کردم بنام ذو الجلال ‘ حَتَّى وَتَيَوْمٍ وَقَدِيمِ بِي زَوَالِ ‘

That this poem also is the work of a Hurūfī, is evident from the concluding lines—

هادی و مهدی کلام اللّٰه شد ‘ لیک اندر نطق فضل اللّٰه شد ‘
 گردانی عنده علم الکتاب ‘ اوست شاهد بر همه یوم الحساب ‘
 جمله از جاوید نامه شد عیان ‘ آنچه پنهان بود در کون و مکان ‘
 رو طلب کن ای شه عالی مقام ‘ مقصد کلتی ازین رو و السلام ‘

¹ His full name is thus given on f. 49^a. Elsewhere he is spoken of simply as *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn*.

"The Word of God is [our] Guide and Mahdī, but it is [so] through the speech of Faḡlu'llāh.

If thou understandest 'With Him is Knowledge of the Book,' he is Witness against all in the Day of Reckoning.

All which was concealed in the Phenomenal Universe hath been made clear by the *Jāvid-nāma*.

Go, seek, O King of lofty station, the Supreme Object in this way, and so Farewell!"

(III) A glossary of the dialect-words used in the *Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr* (ff. 81^a-86^a). The words explained are written in red in alphabetical order, the explanations in Persian standing under each; and there are about eighty words to the page.

Suppl. Pers., 107.

This is a small volume of ff. 139, brown with age, described in a French note as "Traité de l'immortalité de l'Âme en prose persienne appelé *Djavidan namé*, avec l'explication des lettres cabalistiques inconnues qui sont dans l'Alcoran, et le commentaire des passages qui sont à ce sujet, composé par Fadhlalla Houroufi de la secte des Sofis: il traite cette matière suivant la Théologie des Sofis, et la cabale des lettres et des noms divins." Much of it is written in an extremely enigmatical manner, and traditions which enjoyed a special currency and favour amongst the sect are so much abbreviated as to be unintelligible to those who are not already familiar with them. Thus, to cite one instance, the constantly-quoted راست رتبى رأيت رتبى ليلة المعراج في صورة امرئ قطط appears as رست رتبى. The book begins, after the *Bismi'llāh* :—

هو در تقسیم و آن و بشناس و بخوان ای خواننده طوط و کرم
 آن که حت است فرموده است حمص و علی صر الرحمن از تقسیم
 ط و آن که یکی موی سراوست و چهار مژه و دو ابرو و در آن حدیث
 که قامت الرحم فاخذت بحقوى الرحمن قال مه قالت هذا مقام
 العائد بک الى آخره

For the full understanding of this text a careful preliminary study of the more intelligible Hurūfī works would be indispensable. Its title appears to be, from a marginal note rendered partially unintelligible to me by contractions, *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Jārūd*¹ ("The Eternal Book of Love"), and this title seems justified by the general tone of the book and by the constantly-cited tradition—

من ذکرني احبني ومن احبني عشقني ومن عشقني عشقته
ومن عشقته قتلته ومن قتلته انا ديته

"He who remembereth me, loveth me; and he who loveth me, passionately desireth me; and him who passionately desireth me I passionately desire; and whom I passionately desire I slay; and of him whom I slay, I am the Blood-wit." A *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* ("Divine Book of Love") is mentioned in the *Istiqā-nāma*, and is, no doubt, the work contained in this MS., which is dated A.H. 895 (A.D. 1489-90), and was transcribed by a certain Durvish Aḥmad. I was unable to discover in my examination of the book any indications serving to fix more accurately the date of composition or the authorship, but the following expression occurring on f. 11^b of the *Istiqā-nāma* (and similar ones elsewhere) would seem to show that it too was written by Faḡlu'llāh:—

در محبت نامه الهی ج ۲ [= جل ذکره] حضرت الهی
میفرمایند در باب یوسف و زلیخا . . .

Besides the *Jāvidān-nāma* and the *Maḥabbat-nāma*, mention is made in the *Istiqā-nāma* of another Hurūfī work, in verse, entitled the '*Arsh-nāma* ("Book of the Throne"). Citations from this show that it is a Persian *mathnavī* poem written in the same metre (*Ramāl-i-musaddas-i-maḥdhūf*) as the *mathnavī*

¹ This identification is rendered certain by a passage on f. 13^b of the *Istiqā-nāma*, where, in discussing why the *Maḥabbat-nāma* received this title rather than that of *Tu'ashshuq-nāma* or *Muḥaddat-nāma* (which mean the same thing), Ghiyāthud-Dīn explicitly cites its opening words as follows:—

در اول کتاب محبت نامه الهی حضرت الهی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم هو نموده اند

already described as forming the second part of *Anc. Fonds Pers.* 24, and it seemed to me probable that this poem might prove to be the '*Arsh-nāma*, but, as I sought in vain to verify the citations, this identity must still be regarded as unestablished.

Mention must also be made of another Iḥurūfī poem in Turkish, by *Ref'ī*, a pupil of *Nesīmī*, contained in the British Museum MS. Add. 5,986. It is called the *Bushārat-nāma*, and contains translations of passages from the '*Arsh-nāma*, *Jāridān-nāma*, and *Maḥabbat-nāma* already mentioned. As I have not yet had the opportunity of examining this MS., save in the most cursory manner, I can for the present merely refer the reader to Professor Rieu's description of it in his *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pp. 164-5.

It will thus be seen that the authentic material for a full study of this Iḥurūfī sect, of which hitherto almost nothing has been known, is very considerable. Such a study this article has no pretension to be, but only a few notes on the subject, based on such hurried examination of the documents as I have been able to effect. Some there may be who will be inclined to regret that I did not postpone it until I had extended this examination; but, having learned by experience how often the ungarnered harvest rots instead of ripening, I have thought it better to place in the hands of other students these clues to a hitherto untrodden labyrinth which at present I have not leisure further to explore. Sources whence further information might be expected are, besides the Turkish *taẓkiras* of which I have already spoken (some of which I shall have occasion to cite), the various general and special histories of Tīmūr, where some account of the execution of Faẓlu'llāh is probably to be found. It is, of course, possible that Tīmūr attached little importance to the death of one mystic heresiarch amidst the thousands of victims whom he slew, but the Iḥurūfīs on their part were not disposed to forget "that accursed lame man" (آن لنگ), as the author of the *Istirā-nāma* (f. 25^a) calls him.

One other source—printed this time, not manuscript—remains to be mentioned, namely, the Turkish and Persian poems (*Divân*) of Nesīmī, published at Constantinople at the *Akhtar* printing-press in Jumāda II, A.H. 1298. Although almost every page of this *Divân* contains obvious allusions to Faḡlu'llāh and the Hurūfī doctrines, it would appear to be of only secondary value for an investigation of the tenets of the sect. That Nesīmī was a prominent disciple of Faḡlu'llāh is abundantly proved by evidence external to his own poems, and I have now no doubt that he is the “Seyyid ‘Imād”¹ mentioned in the visions wherewith the Cambridge MS. of the *Jāvilān-i-Kabīr* concludes (p. 72 of my *Persian Catalogue*). Qinālī-zādé expressly says, in the notice which he consecrates to Nesīmī in his *taẓkira* (Add. 24,957 of Brit. Mus., f. 282), that, after he had been filled with Divine love, he “at length offered his devotion to Faḡlu'llāh al-Hurūfī,” and, becoming bolder and bolder in his talk of Divine Mysteries as the Mystic Wine-cup which he drained proved too much for his discretion, uttered words mystically true but outwardly blasphemous, which caused the doctors of Aleppo to pronounce sentence of death against him.² The author of the *Istivā-nāma* mentions him (f. 22^a) as one of seven “most learned, most perfect, most excellent, most eminent darvīshes of that epoch” (the others being Darvīsh ‘Alī, Darvīsh Bahā’u’d-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad of Nā’in, Mawlānā Ḥasan of Burūjird, Darvīsh Aḥmad of Gīlān, and

¹ Qinālī-zādé (fl. A.H. 994) speaks of him as ‘Imādu’d-Dīn, and says that he belonged to a family of Seyyids of Baghdad. Mr. Gibb, who has kindly read through the proofs of this article, says that Laṭīfī (A.H. 953) confirms the first piece of information.

² I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—“Qinālī-zādé’s words are—

گُلستانِ جنان و بوستانِ دل و جاننه نسیم فنا و زان اولمغله بوی عشق و محبتی مشامنه پتوره میشدی
که خدمتِ مشایخِ زمان ایدرکت آخر فضل الله حرونی به ارادت گزور میشدی

‘As the Breeze of Annihilation blew upon the Garden of his Spirit, upon the Orchard of his Heart and Soul, it bore the Perfume of Love and Affection to his Nostrils, so that after having served the Sheykhs of the Time, he at last gave his allegiance to Faḡlu'llāh the Hurūfī, in consequence of which, continues Qinālī-zādé, he lost all self-control, and began to rave after the fashion of the ecstasies.”

Mawlānā Ḥasan-i-Ḥaydarī), and, in an anecdote concerning him (to be cited presently) which occurs on f. 58^b, calls him

سید سعید شهید امیر سید عماد الدین نسیمی

"the beatified, martyred Seyyid, Amir Seyyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn Nesīmī." In the *taẓkira* of Laṭīfī (Add. 17,339 of Brit. Mus., f. 90^b) he is called—

عشق میدانینگ سرباز بی بیمی و محبت کعبه‌سنگ فدای
عظیمی قدوة السادات سید نسیمی قدس الله سره

"the fearless Soldier of the Field of Love, the precious Sacrifice of the Ka'ba of Affection, the Paragon of Seyyids, Seyyid Nesīmī, may God sanctify his secret!" Hence it would appear that even Musulmāns presumably orthodox were disposed to regard him as a kind of second Maṣṣūr-i-Ḥallāj, a part for which his own words (*Divān*, p. 52, l. 6, and many other passages) prove his predilection—

دائم انا الحق سویلرم حقدن جو منصور اولمشم

کیمدر بنی بردار ایدن بو شهره مشهور اولمشم

"Since I have been helped [*maṣṣūr*]¹ by the Truth [God] I ever say, 'I am the 'Truth!' Who will put me on the gibbet? I have become notorious in this city."

Had these gentle biographers enjoyed an opportunity of perusing even so much of the Ḥurūfī literature as the writer has done, it is very doubtful if they would have striven to surround with the halo of martyrdom an exponent of doctrines far more remarkable for their ingenuity than their orthodoxy. These doctrines I now propose briefly to examine, chiefly by the light of the *Istiḥā-nāma*, of which I have the fullest notes, and which is the clearest and most intelligible of the Ḥurūfī books. Before proceeding to this second part of my article, however, I will summarize, for greater convenience of reference, the sources of our information on the subject.

¹ Or, "since I have become [like] Maṣṣūr." The equivoque cannot be preserved in English.

- I. *Hurūfī writings.* (1) The *Jāridān-nāma-i-Kabīr* of *Faḡlu'llāh al-Hurūfī*: MSS. of Cambridge, Leyden, and St. Sophia.
- (2) The *Istiwā-nāma* of *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn*: MSS. of Paris and the Vatican.
- (3) The *Mahabbat-nāma* of *Faḡlu'llāh*: MS. of Paris.
- (4) A *mathnawī* poem which, under the guise of Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, treats allegorically of the Hurūfī doctrines, and may be the '*Arsh-nāma* of *Faḡlu'llāh* mentioned and cited in the *Istiwā-nāma*: Paris MS.
- (5) The *Divān of Nesīmī*: Constantinople edition of A.H. 1298. This volume also includes (pp. 9-14) the *Ḡanj-nāmē* (Turkish) of *Refī'i*.
- (6) The *Bashārat-nāma* of *Nesīmī's* pupil *Refī'i*: Brit. Mus. MS.

II. *External Sources of Information.* Biographies of Turkish poets (s.v. *Nesīmī* and perhaps *Refī'i*), e.g. *Qināli-zāde* and *Lafī'i*.¹ Probably some of the histories of *Timūr*; *Ilājī Khalfā*, s.v. *Jāridān-i-Kabīr*; the *Inbā* of *Ibn Hajar*.

II. THE DOCTRINES.

Speaking generally, the following appear to be the most prominent features of the fanciful doctrines confusedly and unmethodically set forth in the Hurūfī books:—

(1) There exists a hidden science, to acquire which is at once the supreme duty and the supreme happiness of man, indicating and explaining the meaning and significance of all things in heaven above and in earth beneath, and the mystical correspondences which unite them.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—"Refī'i is not mentioned in any of the *tezkirés* I have seen. There is further a notice on *Nesīmī* in 'Ashiq Chelebi's *tezkiré*, written about A.H. 976. Also in 'Alī's History (كنه الاخبار), written A.H. 1007. 'Ashiq alone speaks in a disparaging tone about *Nesīmī*."

(2) This hidden science is contained in the Qur'ān; but the key which unlocks it, was in the hands of Fuzlu'llāh, "the Master of Interpretation" (صاحب تاوليل), also called "His Divine Holiness" (حضرت الهی), and, after him, passed to his Successor (حضرت خليفه) or Vicar¹ (مقام ق رت). (العالمين على على اعلى). By them it was disclosed to the believers.

(3) Man, created in the Image of God, "in the best of forms" (في أحسن تقويم), is the Microcosm (العالم الاصغر), the Book of God (الكتاب المبين الذي باحرفه يظهر المضمرة), the Goal and Measure of all things, the Throne on which God ascended when He had finished the creation of all inferior and subordinate creatures (as it is said in the Qur'ān—ثم استوى على عرشه), an Object of Worship to the Angels, "save Iblis, who waxed proud and refused," saying:—

ذات پاکی را که من کردم سجود ' هست فارغ از قیام و از قعود'
جسم خاکی چون شود مسجود من ' سجده من هم سوی معبود من'

"That pure Essence which I worship is free from standing or sitting :

How can an earthly body be the object of my adoration ?
My adoration is towards my God."

(*Arsh-nāma* cited in *Istiqā-nāma*, f. 20^a.)

(4) "Science is a Point which fools have made manifold" (العلم نقطة كثرتها الجاهلون). That science is the Science of the Letters, which, properly understood, explains all things. "That Point," says Amīr Nūru'llāh, called *Hazrat-i-Surūru'sh-Shuhadā* (His Holiness the Delight of the Martyrs), "is the head of man; for Beauty, Comeliness, Speech, Smell, Sight, and Hearing are all in the head; and, according to writing and script, the 32 lines of black and white [i.e. the 32 letters of the Arabic alphabet as enlarged by the Persians]

¹ Perhaps Amīr Nūru'llāh, "the Delight of the Martyrs." See p. 77, *infra*.

are in the face, and the manifestation of speech also, which is 32 and 28 [sounds in the Persian and Arabic languages respectively], is in the face; and the verse '*All things shall perish save His Face*' also alludes to this" (*Istiwā-nāma*, ff. 19^b-20^a). As all the letters are developed from the Point (نقطه), so are all men developed from seed (نطفه, which is, save for a slight difference in diacritical points, an anagram of نقطه). "*Which fools have made manifold*": "inasmuch as they seek the Essence of God, and the manifestation of that Essence, and the Vision thereof, elsewhere than in the Face of Man" (*Istiwā-nāma*, f. 20^a). So Nesīmī says (*Dirān*, p. 52):—

چون اون سکر بگ عالمه اولدی وجودم آئینه

اول صورت رحمن بنم کیم خلقه مستور اولمشم

"Seeing that my body is the mirror for the 18,000 worlds, I am that very Form of God, so am I concealed to (i.e. not comprehended by) the multitude."

(5) The Hurūfīs, like the Bāṭinis or Isma'īlīs, whom in many respects they so closely resemble, teach that, though there is a deep meaning of infinite significance both in the Qur'ān and in the religious observances (Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, etc.) which it ordains, the merely literal meaning of the former and the merely formal fulfilment of the latter are entirely devoid of importance. The method of *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, first elaborated by the Isma'īlīs, finds an equally full and very similar application amongst the Hurūfīs, who, as it would appear, reject the material Resurrection, Paradise, and Hell of orthodox Islām; and incline to a belief in Transmigration, or rather, perhaps, like the Bābīs, in the "Return" (رجعت) or Re-manifestation of the same significant essences in new forms.¹ They appear to believe, however, in a state of subjective happiness or misery after death, since Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn gives in the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 23^a) an account of a conversation which he held

¹ Cf. pp. 77-8, *infra*.

during sleep with a departed co-religionist, Amīr Sulāmu'llāh, and describes graphically the mansions and gardens of the Paradise wherein he visited him and other deceased co-religionists; while in another place (f. 27^a) the following couplet, ascribed to "the Master of Interpretation" (i.e. Faḡlu'llāh), is said to have been cited in the course of a discussion by Amīr Nūru'llāh:—

با او بماند دایم در عالم معانی

آن نقش و آن صفاتی کو با وی آشنا شد

"There remain ever with him in the Ideal World that form and those attributes which had become familiar to him."

Moreover, we find in the *Istirā-nāma*, chapters "on the consciousness of the Human Spirit after the plucking off of the Body, when and how Peace comes to the pure and great Spirit of the learned, enquiring, unitarian Gnostic who practises what he knows" (f. 212); "in explanation of Hell, and the Place of Abode of the Human Spirit" (f. 39^b); and "in explanation of Hell, and determination thereof according to the word of interpretation of the *Jāridān-nāma-i-Ilāhī*, the *Mahabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* and the Word of the Vicar of God (*Khalāḡatu'llāh*), and according to the explicit testimony (نص) of the Pentateuch and the Gospel."

Now the doctrine of *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, is very apt to lead to complete Antinomianism, and from several passages in the *Istirā-nāma*, it would appear that this actually was the case amongst many of the Hurūfīs. "Some of the darvishes of Rūm" (i.e. the Turkish Hurūfīs), according to Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn (f. 24^a), used to argue thus:—

بهشت عبارت از علم است و دوزخ عبارت از جهل است چون
ما عارف بسی و دو کلمه و وجود خود و اشیا شدیم همه اشیا از
برای ما بهشت است نماز نیست و روزه نیست و طهارت نیست
و حرام نیست همه حلال است که این همه تکلیفات است و در

بهشت تکلیف نیست و غرض از بهشت این عالم است با معرفت علم حروف و بیان صاحب بیان چه و درویشان بغداد نیز که درویش امیر علی کیوان و درویش صدر ضیا و درویش حسن ناطق اند ایشان نیز برین اند و برین بودند و درویش حاجی عیسی بدلیسی سلام الله علیه در آلا داغ از حضرت خلیفه الله سوال فرمود و مدتی با درویشان مولانا حسن حیدری و درویش محمد تیرگر و سید تاج الدین و سید مظفر بحث میکرد و مدعای او این بود که در بهشت تکلیف نیست و ما میگوئیم که در بهشتیم پس بر ما میباشد که تکلیف نباشد و این پنج وقت نماز بر ما تکلیف است پس گذاردنی نباشد و مدت چند وقت درین باب مباحثه میکرد تا غایتی که این سخن بحضرت خلیفه الله رسید صلوات الله علیه جواب او را چنین فرمودند که ترا بر علم من و یقین من اقرار هست یا نیست حال از دو بیرون نیست آن درویش عزیز فرمودند که این فقیر را بعلم و یقین شما [اقرار] هست [پس از] این فرمودند که اگر مرا دانا میدانی من میگویم که میباشد گزارد (f. 24^b) و در محبت نامه الهی چه حضرت صاحب بیان چه میفرمایند که نهایت خداپرستی حکما و علما و زاهدان و متقیان سر بعالم عشق و خواهد نهادن و عاشقی عبارت از آنست که از برای هر خط وجه و ابرو و مژه و غمزہ محبوب سجود تسلیم بجا آورد و در جنت بقول نص کلام اذا قیل لهم سلاما سلاما مذکور است و سلاما سلاما در نماز است هم صورت نماز خواهد بود آن درویش سکونت کرد و تسلیم شد و قبول کرد

“Paradise consists in knowledge, and hell in ignorance. Since we are cognizant of the 32 words, and of our own being, and of all things, all things are paradise to us: there is no longer prayer, or fasting, or cleanness, or things unlawful: all is lawful. For all these things are obligations, and in paradise is no obligation. And by paradise is meant this world, with knowledge of the Science of the Letters and the Explanation of the Revealer (glorious be his mention!).’ And the darvishes of Baghdad also, who are Darvish Amīr ‘Alī Keyvān and Darvish Ṣadr-i-Zīyā, and Darvish Ḥasan Nāṭiq, also hold and have held this. And Darvish Hājī ‘Īsā of Bitlīs (upon whom be the Peace of God) enquired of His Holiness the Vicar of God in Ālādāgh, and disputed for some while with the Darvishes Mawlānā Ḥasan Ḥaydarī and Darvish Muḥammad Tīr-gar [‘the Fletcher’] and Seyyid Tājū’d-Dīn and Seyyid Muẓaffar [about this point], his contention being, ‘There is no obligation in Paradise; and we say that we are in Paradise, therefore there is no obligation upon us; and these five times of prayer are an obligation upon us, therefore they should not be performed,’ and for some time he discoursed on this matter, until at length it came to the hearing of His Holiness the Vicar of God (on whom be the blessings of God), who answered him thus: ‘Dost thou admit my knowledge and infallibility? There are but two alternatives.’ That worthy darvish replied, ‘This humble individual admits your knowledge and infallibility.’ Then said the other, ‘If thou regardest me as wise, I say that one *should* perform them.’ And in the *Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* (glorious be its mention!) His Holiness the Revealer (glorious be his mention!) says: ‘Worship of God will at length turn the heads of philosophers, doctors, the ascetic and the devout, again to the World of Love; and Love consists in this, that one should fulfil the prostration of submission to every hair of the face, and eyebrow, and eyelash, and glance of the Beloved: and in Paradise, as is mentioned in the explicit word of Scripture, “then shall be said unto them, ‘Peace! Peace!’” and “*L’euve!*

Peace!" is in the prayers; it [i.e. Paradise] is therefore conformable to prayer.' That darvīsh was silent and submitted and acquiesced."

Ghiyāthud-Dīn then goes on to speak of the views prevalent amongst his fellow-believers in Shīrwān, Gilān ("some of whom believe in the World of Immortality as conformable to the World of Sleep"), Khurāsān (where Seyyid Amīr Ishaq taught and gathered disciples), 'Irāq, Luristān, and Tabriz, most of whom seem to have discarded the outer forms of religion:—

و اهل عراق و لرستان و درویشان آن دیار اکثر بلكث همه بالهاد
و بی نمازی و بی تکلیفی مشغول گشته خود را آزاد تصوّر کرده بدان
عمل مشغول اند، اهل تبریز درویشان اهل قتل بعضی بر آنند که
بهشت شد و قلم تکلیف بر خاست، هرچه در کاینات است
(f. 25^b) حق انسان عارفست آنچه میسر گردد و تصرف میباید
نمود و آنچه میسر نگردد حق خود میباید دانست و در آن
کوشیدن که از دست غیر بیرون آورده عارف تصرف نماید، نماز
و طاعت و وضو و غسل و امثال این چیزها بر خاسته است، نماز از
برای آن بود که حقیقت آن معلوم گردد چون حقیقت معلوم
گشت دیگر نماز نیست و امثال این تکالیف بعضی بر آنند
که حضرت صاحب تاویل چّه در عرش ناواه الهی میفرماید —
یعنی سی و دو مرا باشد کلام، آنکه اشیارا بایشانست قیام،
در یکی گبرید اگر از حق قرار، سی و یک را زو بیایی آشکار،
(f. 26^a) برادر عزیز جانی درویش محمد تیرگر رضوان الله علیه از
طرف ما زندران بعد از استخلاص از حبس شیاعین که با حضرت
سرور شهیدا امیر نور الله صلوات الله علیه آمدیم بطرف بغداد چون

به محروسة، باغ قوبه رسیدیم رسید و چند مسئله آورد از آن جمله یکی این بود که البته میباید که همه زبانها بر افتد آلا عربی و فارسی بدلیل لسان اهل الجمعة عربی و فارسی دری که سی و دو کلمه درین دو زبان جاریست دیگر زبانها مکتربند می باید که بر افتند، و یکی دیگر آنکه ازین فقیر سؤال کرد که حضرت صاحب تاویل را چه آید و آن لنگت ملعون را کجا مشاهده میکنی، این فقیر گفت حقیقت آن لنگت مجلس را در لقوة ملعون و حقیقت فضل رب العالمین چه آید در حضرت امیر نور الله، او انکار کرد و گفت که حضرت صاحب بیان در مظهر بالقوة است که پادشاهی میکنند و آن لنگت در سگت است و در صورت سگت او را مشاهده توان کرد،

“And most, nay, all of those of ‘Irāq and Luristān, and the darvishes of that district, having entangled themselves in heresy, and discarded prayer and other obligations, imagine that in thus acting they enjoy liberty. As for those of Tabriz, the darvishes who are followers of Fazl,¹ some [of them too] hold that Paradise has come, and that the prescribed obligations are removed. ‘Whatever is in creation,’ [say they] ‘is the due of the initiate: he should possess himself of whatever is obtainable, and as for what is beyond his reach, he ought to regard it as his by right, and strive to get it out of the hands of others, so that the initiate may take possession of it. Prayer, Worship, the greater and lesser ablutions, and the like of these things, are abrogated. Prayer existed so that the verity underlying it might become known: when that verity has become known, there is no more [need of] prayer, and the like obligations. . . . Some assert that His Holiness the

¹ Of course درویشان اهل فضل may be taken as meaning “the excellent” or “accomplished darvishes,” but as Fazlu’llāh, the founder of the sect, was a Tabrizi, I think that the expression has a specific meaning, and denotes those Hurūfis who derived their teaching directly from him.

Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention!) says in the *‘Arsh-nāma-i-Ilāhī*:—

‘That is, I have two and thirty words whereby all things subsist:

If by the Truth you abide in one, you will find the other one and thirty made plain thereby.’

That dear brother of my heart Darvish Muḥammad Tīr-gar [‘the Fletcher’] (upon whom be the approval of God), when we approached Baghdad and reached the protected garden of Qūba with His Holiness ‘the Delight of the Martyrs’ Amīr Nūru’llāh (upon whom be the blessings of God), after our release from the bondage of the devils, arrived from Māzandarān bringing several problems, of which one was this: ‘All languages save Arabic and Persian must pass away, as is proved by [the tradition] “*the language of the people of Paradise is Arabic and Dari Persian*,” for the thirty-two words [rather *letters*] are current in these two languages, while other languages are merely repeated,¹ wherefore they must pass away.’ And another [problem] was this which he enquired of this humble individual: ‘Where dost thou behold His Holiness the Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention!) and that accursed lame man [i.e. Tīmūr-i-lang, ‘Tamerlane’]?’ This humble individual replied: ‘[I behold] the essence of that unclean lame one in the accursed distortion² [?], and the essence of the Grace [*Faḫr*] of the Lord of the Worlds (glorious be his mention!) in His Holiness Amīr Nūru’llāh.’ He denied it, saying: ‘His Holiness the Master of Interpretation is only potentially manifest, for he rules [by his influence and teachings which survive him], while that

¹ The Hurūfī system dealt primarily with the mystical virtues and significance of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet, and afterwards included (in the *Nuskhā-i-Naw*, or Supplement to the *Jāridān-i-Kabīr*) the four additional Persian letters ب, چ, ژ, and ک, thus raising the total number to 32. Other languages, according to the Hurūfī view, would only repeat more or less perfectly these letters.

² The proper meaning of لَمَر is ‘Paralysis, distortion of the mouth.’ With the Hurūfīs it probably had some special signification.

lame man is in a dog, and in the form of a dog one may behold him.'"¹

All this very clearly shows that, as might have been expected *prima facie*, the doctrine of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, had produced amongst the Hurūfīs that disregard of the external forms of devotion, and impatience of restriction, which it always has tended, and always must tend, to produce. Not only were many of them disposed to abandon the prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage prescribed by the Law of Islām, but they were inclined, like the Carmathians, like the Anabaptists, like some of the early Bābīs, to consider that to them, as a chosen people, it was given to "inherit the earth." Nor are there wanting in their books sundry indications of a tendency on their part to set aside the moral as well as the religious law; while it is clear that some of them, like Nesīmī, were given to indulging in those extravagant pretensions wherein to this day Persians of the class amongst which doctrines of this type find most favour are accustomed to revel.² An interesting passage in the *Istirā-nāma* (f. 58^b) illustrates this:—

سلطان الموحدين و زبدة المجتهدين قائم مقام ق رب العالمين
على عالى اعلى عم در بزم توحيد ساکن بودند و بتشرب م آبى
مشغول بودند ' نظم سيد سعيد شهيد امير سيد عماد الدين نسيمي
رضوان الله عليه در ميان خوانده شد و ابياى چند که در آن نظم
دعوى انانيت راجع بود ' اين فقير از ح ايشان با رسم لطيفه سوال
کردم و گفتم که چونست که امير سيد نسيمي که [از] هدايت
يافتگان شما بودند اين همه دعوى انانيت کرده اند و البته هر
صاحب کمال از منازل اعلاى خود دم زده اند و سخنپاى بلند

¹ For a curious parallel, cf. my translation of the *New History of Mirzā 'Alī Muhammad the Bāb*, p. 338.

² See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 475, 491-3.

فرموده‌اند مثل امیر المومنین علی علیه السلام در خطبه^۱ شتوشقیه و شیخ جنید و شیخ بایزید و امثال این مشایخ کبار از شما امثال این صدا ظاهر نشد و نمی شود، آن حضرت با رسم لطیفه باین فقیر سخن چند فرمودند در جواب فرمودند که حاجت نیست که من از منازل خود خبر دهم که از منازل عالی این فقیر نص کتاب الہی تنزیل ناطق است و خبر میدهد، و این فقیر سؤال کردم که کدام است فرمودند کہ قولہ تعالی و هو العلی العظیم و علی کبیر و امثال این آیات نعت من است کہ خدا در کلام تنزیل فرمودند، و این قول را همین فقیر حاضر بود کہ استماع کرد و بر لوح ضمیر منقش گردانید تا این دم کہ از آن حال مقدار سی سال کم و یا بیش گذشته صورت تحریر یافت تا چون بسمع طالبان راه یقین و سالکان راه توحید ق رب العالمین ج ۳ برسد این مسئلہ را ازین فقیر در عرصہ کائنات مانده دانند و این فقیر بدعای خیر یاد فرمایند^۲

“The King of Unitarians and Cream of Divines, the Vicar of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. of Faḡlu'llāh], the High, the Exalted, the Supreme (upon whom be Peace), was tarrying at the Banquet of Unification, and absorbed in quaffing the Divine Wine. The poetry of that blessed, martyred Seyyid, Amīr Seyyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn Nesīmī (upon whom be God's approval), was being read amongst us, and some verses in that poetry which appeared to imply a claim to [the Divine] Ipseity. This humble individual jestingly enquired of His Holiness saying: 'How is it that Seyyid Nesīmī, who was one of your converts, has put forward all these claims to Ipseity? Of course, every perfect man boasts of his highest levels, and utters great words, like 'Alī, the Prince of Believers, in the homily [known as] *Shaqshaqiyya*; and Shēykh Juneyd [of Baghdad]; and

Sheykh Bāyazīd [of Bistām]; and the like of these great Sheykh. But from you the like of these utterances hath not appeared and appeareth not.' His Holiness made several subtle observations to this humble individual, and answered: 'There is no need for me to tell of my levels, inasmuch as the Divine Scripture explicitly speaks and discourses of the high levels of this humble individual.' I asked, 'Which [passage] is it?' He replied: 'Where God says, "*and He is the Exalted, the Mighty,*" and "*One High and Great,*" and the like of these verses, it is to me that God refers in the words of Scripture.' And this humble individual was present when he heard this saying: and he engraved it on the tablet of his memory, until now, when a period of thirty years, more or less, has elapsed since that time, it hath been recorded in writing, so that, when it reaches the hearing of those who seek the Path of Certainty and pursue the Road of Unification of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. Faḡlu'llāh] (glorious is his mention!), they may regard this question as somewhat left by this humble individual in the plain of phenomenal beings, and may remember him in their prayers."

A few quotations from Nesīmī's *Divān*, taken almost at random from the first few pages, will illustrate the character of the pretensions above referred to.

مائیم امیر هر دو عالم مائیم عدو سور و ماتم
 یک قطره ز بحر ماست شبلی یک نقطه ز حرف ماست ادهم
 زد بحر محیط ما شبی موج حاصل شد از آن کفی شد آدم
 عیسی دمنده دم بزاید گرز آنکه دمیم دم بمیریم

"We are the Ruler of the two worlds: we are the enemy of rejoicing and mourning. Shibli is a drop from our Ocean: [Ibrāhīm] Adham is a Point of our Letter. One night our all-encompassing Ocean dashed a wave whose foam became Adam. Jesus, the Breather of Healing Breath, will be born if we breathe our breath into Mary."

از ما طالب ای پسر خدارا ' ما ئیم چو مظهر الهی
 "Seek God from us, O son, since we are the Divine
 Manifestation."

از سر پسر شدیم آگاه ' احمد چو نشان راه بنمود
 "We were acquainted with the Secret of the Father when
 Aḥmad [i.e. Muḥammad] showed a sign of the Path."

ای طالب صورت خدائی ' چون بگذری از دوئی خدائیم
 "O seeker of the Divine Countenance, when thou quittest
 duality we are God!"

ای طالب حق به بین خدارا ' در صورت خوب و حسن موزون
 "O seeker of the Real, behold God in the fair face and
 symmetrical beauty!"

ای صوفی عمر داده برباد ' می نوش و بیا که ما مضی فات
 "O Ṣūfī who hast wasted thy life, come and drink wine,
 for what is passed is lost."

نظاره صورت خدا کن ' در شیوه خط وجه زیبا
 هیئات که حق نبینی امروز ' ای غتره بوعدهای فردا
 "Contemplate the Face of God in the disposal of the down
 on a comely countenance:
 Alas, thou wilt not regard the Real to-day, O dupe of
 to-morrow's promises!"

صورت حق آنکه میگوید که روی خوب نیست

چشم حق بین نیست اورا دعوی او باطلست
 "He who says that a fair face is not the Visage of God
 hath not the Truth-seeing eye and his pretension
 is vain."

چرخ معلق بنم فاعل مطلق بنم ' حقله یم و حق بنم آیتله بیانات
 "I am the suspended Heaven, I am the Absolute Agent,
 I am with God, I am God, I am the Proofs and
 the Sign."

ای قیلان توحید ایمان کفر و شرک آدینی

گل بو زیبا صورته قیل سجده کیم ایمان بو در

“O thou who makest one the names of the Faith, of Blasphemy and of Polytheism, come, worship this fair form, for this (i.e. doing this) is the Faith!”¹

Surely here is sufficient proof to convict Nesīmī of unorthodoxy, quite apart from the essentially heretical doctrines of his sect, which certainly regarded Faḡlu'llāh and his *Jāridān-nāma-i-Kabīr* as equal to Muḥammad and the Qur'ān, and probably as vastly superior; besides explaining away by their *ta'wīl* most of the essential doctrines and prescribed ordinances of Islām!

It is now time to give a sample of the fanciful “correspondences” or analogies so industriously sought out by the Hurūfīs. As the Qur'ān corresponds to man, each being the Book of God, so the *Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, corresponds to the head of man. And just as this *sūra* comprises seven “signs” (*āyāt*) or verses, the *sab'u'l-mathānī*, so in the face of man we have “seven signs,” to wit, the *hair*, two *eyebrows*, and four rows of *eyelashes*. These, says the *Istīḥa-nāma* (f. 17^b), are “the Seven Heavens,” for in reality there is only one heaven:—

بدین دلیل معلوم میشود که این آسمان ظاهریکی باشد همچو
زمین، آنکه هفت فرمودند مران از سموات بدن آدم باشد که سر
و خط سراسر است که از شکم حوا که ام است واصل است این هفت
خطرا با خود همراه می آورد

“By this proof it is known that the external heaven is only one, like the earth. When they speak of ‘seven,’ the ‘heavens’ of Man’s body are meant, these being the

¹ For this corrected rendering, and for the following note, I am indebted to Mr. Gibb’s kindness:—“This verse is addressed to the Adept who sees the Unity in all things—‘Syntheism’ is perhaps better than ‘Polytheism’ for شرک.”

head and the 'lines of the head' [as above enumerated] which seven lines he brings with him when he comes forth from the womb of Eve, who is the Mother" (i.e. اُمُّ الْكِتَاب, "the Mother of the Book," man, as we have seen, being "the Book").

In accordance with this idea, we find mention made by the author of the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 23*) of two deceased ladies of his persuasion entitled "*Bibi Fātiḥa*" and "*Bibi Ummu'l-Kitāb*."

Supported, I suppose, by a traditional saying ascribed to 'Alī, "*All that is in the Qur'ān is in the Sūratu'l-Fātiḥa*," etc., and extending its application in a manner slightly different from that adopted by Sheykh Muḥyiyyu'd-Dīn b. al-'Arabī, and after him by the Bābīs (who take the nineteen letters of the *Bismi'llāh* as the basis of their numerical mysticism), the Hurūfis next assume that the first verse of the *Fātiḥa* (الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ), which contains eighteen letters, represents the "18,000 worlds" (cf. p. 71, supra) which constitute the Universe. Now the Sum of the Universe = God (اللَّهُ) + "what is beside God" (مَا سِوَاءِ اللَّهِ). Take away the 4 letters of الله from 18, and 14 is left, which number represents the Phenomenal or Material Creation. The same number 14 (to which the Hurūfis appear to attach great importance, perhaps as a multiple of 7) is arrived at in another way, as follows:—The Arabic alphabet comprises 28 letters. This alphabet in the Hurūfī system represents the sum of the Universe, i.e. God + "what is beside God." Take away what the Hurūfis call "the 14 letters of God" (چهارده حرف الله), by which they appear to mean the letters in the formula—الله لا اله الا هو, "*God, there is no God but He!*") and 14 letters remain to represent "what is beside God," i.e. the Material Worlds. The four letters in the 18—4 of the first reduction are represented in the alphabet by the four letters added by the Persians to the original 28 of the Arabs, which 28 is itself the double of 14.

Moreover, 14 joints make up the fingers (including, of course, the thumb) of the hand, or 28 the two hands. In pronouncing the declaration of the Divine Unity (تشهد), the index-finger (hence called انگشت شهادت, "the Witness-finger") of one hand, and all the fingers of the other hand (making $14 + 3 = 17$ joints in all), are extended, while the remaining fingers (11 joints) are flexed. The 17 stand for the 17 کلمه محکما, or primary forms of the Arabic letters, which are not dependent for their differentiation on the "point" or dot (*nugṭa*), viz.: ا, ب, ج, د, ر, س, ط, ص, ض, ظ, ع, ف, ق, ک, ل, م, ن, ه, ی. The 11 stand for the 11 کلمه متشابهات, which are differentiated by the "point," viz.: ت, ث, ج, ذ, ز, ش, ط, ظ, ع, ف, ق. Thus, the *nugṭa* or "point" is the underlying basis, or primordial element, of the alphabet, which is its manifestation; while from another point of view it reveals, by differentiating, the letters. This appears to be the thought which underlies the assumption of the title "*Nugṭa*" by the Bāb, though it was no doubt immediately suggested to him by the final words of the traditional saying of 'Alī referred to above—

کَلَّ مَا فِي الْقُرْآنِ فِي الْفَاتِحَةِ وَكَلَّ مَا فِي الْفَاتِحَةِ فِي الْبِسْمَةِ وَكَلَّ
مَا فِي الْبِسْمَةِ فِي الْبَاءِ وَكَلَّ مَا فِي الْبَاءِ فِي النُّقْطَةِ الَّتِي تَحْتَ الْبَاءِ
وَإِنَّا النُّقْطَةُ الَّتِي تَحْتَ الْبَاءِ

"All that is in the Qur'an is in the Fātiḥa, and all that is in the Fātiḥa is in the Bismi'llāh, and all that is in the Bismi'llāh is in the Bā, and all that is in the Bā is in the Point which is under the Bā (ب), and I am the Point which is under the Bā." The "Point" contains potentially all the "Letters," or, in the words of the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 5*)—

ظهور کلمه از نقطه است

The mysteries of the number 14 are not yet exhausted. Every student of Islām knows how greatly the detached letters and groups of letters which stand at the heads of

of his belief with some new fragment of decorative architecture.¹ Thus the Hurūfīs, whom one would scarcely describe as a sect formed in any degree under Christian influences, had evidently ransacked the Gospels for further confirmation and illustration of their ideas; for not only does the author of the *Istirā-nāma* (f. 23^b) talk of "seeking consolation and understanding from the Books of Explanation [or Revelation, بیان] of His Divine Holiness (exalted be His mention!), and from the Pentateuch, and the Gospel, and the Glorious Qur'ān . . . and the Three Books" (whatever is meant by this last expression), but the Gospels are actually cited in at least two passages. The first of these occurs on f. 12^a:—

و حضرت در اَوَّل المجیل میفرماید که اَوَّل چیزی که از آسمان
آمد سخن بود و خدا با آن سخن بود و من آن سخن و من کلمه
بودم که در رحم مریم در آمدم و آن کلمه گوشتمند شد

"And the Lord [Jesus] says in the beginning of the Gospel [of St. John]: 'The first thing which came from heaven was the Word [or Speech, *sukhan*], and God was with that Word, and I am that Word. And I was the Word [*kalima*] which entered into the womb of Mary; and that Word became incarnate.'"

The second citation is equally unmistakable, and occurs on f. 51^b:—

چشمی که بخیانت نظر کند آن چشم را بکن و بینداز که بیک
چشم در زندگانی به که بدو چشم در دوزخ چون میدانی قبری
هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست که نمی خسپد، دستی که
خیانت کند ببر که بیک دست در زندگانی به که بدو دست در
دوزخ چون میدانی که قبری هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست
که نمی خسپد

¹ *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1866, p. 7.

"That eye which offends [or 'plays the traitor'], pluck it out and cast it away, for it is better [to be] in Life with one eye than in Hell with two eyes; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not. That hand which offends, cut it off, for it is better [to be] in Life with one hand than in Hell with two hands; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not."

So at the present day the Bābis (particularly the Bahā'is) have freely borrowed illustrations, expressions, and arguments from the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, adapting them, of course, in every case, to their own requirements, and understanding them in their own ways, which naturally differ very considerably from the interpretations with which the West is familiar.

To return, however, to another point on which I just now touched, viz. the existence of striking but apparently fortuitous resemblances in Persian sects between which it is very difficult to assume any actual contact or organic connection. Is it not a remarkable thing that, not to mention all this talk about the "POINT" and "LETTERS," we find Faḡlu'llāh called in a passage of the *Isticā-nāma* (f. 23^b) "*Ḥaḡrat-i-Sāhib-i-BAYĀN*" and his books "*Kitāb-hā-yi BAYĀN*," while the colophon (see p. 63, *supra*) states that the transcription was concluded "*bi-'awni Faḡli [Faḡli]-Ḥatīḡi'l-Bān*"? Is it not remarkable that the numbers 360 and 18 should appear in the Hurūfī books only less prominently than do 361 ("the Number of All Things") and 19 ("the Number of the Unity") in the books of the Bābis? Even in the titles given to the saints and martyrs of the two sects there is an extraordinary similarity, for if the Bābis have their "*Ḥaḡrat-i-A'lā*," the Hurūfīs have their "*Ḥaḡrat-i-ʿAlīyy-i-ʿAlīy-i-A'lā*"; if the Bābis have their "*Ismaʿl-ʿAzīm*" (Mullā Shēykh ʿAlī), the Hurūfīs have their "*Ismaʿl-ʿAlīyyuʿl-Kabīr*"; if the Bābis have their "Beloved of the Martyrs" ("*Mahbūbuʿsh-Shuhadā*"), the Hurūfīs have their "Delight of the Martyrs" ("*Surūruʿsh-*

Shuhadā'"); if a Bābī seer recognizes the soul of a dead unbeliever in a dog, a Ḥurūfī (pp. 77-8, *supra*) beholds Tamerlane, the oppressor of his faith, in the form of the same animal. And yet it is very improbable that the Bābīs had any knowledge whatever of the Ḥurūfīs, or had ever so much as heard of the sect or its founder!

The truth is, that there is a profound difference between the Persian idea of Religion and that which obtains in the West. Here it is the ideas of Faith and Righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of Religion; there it is Knowledge and Mystery. Here Religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there, as a Key to unlock the Secrets of the Spiritual and Material Universe. Here it is associated with Work and Charity; there, with Rest and Wisdom. Here a creed is admired for its simplicity; there, for its complexity. To Europeans these speculations about "Names" and "Numbers" and "Letters"; this talk of Essences, Quiddities, and Theophanies; these far-fetched analogies and wondrous hair-splittings, appear, as a rule, not merely barren and unattractive, but absurd and incomprehensible; and consequently, when great self-devotion and fearlessness of death and torture are witnessed amongst the adherents of such a creed, attempts are instinctively made by Europeans to attribute to that creed some ethical or political aim. Such aim may or may not exist, but, even if it does, it is, I believe, as a rule, of quite secondary and subordinate importance in the eyes of those who have evolved and those who have accepted the doctrine. There are in the *Bayān*, for instance, amongst pages and pages of mystical rhapsody, a few passages which seem to show that the Bāb desired to secure amongst his followers a greater happiness to children, a greater freedom to women, and a greater gentleness and kindness in life; it is even possible by careful study of his writings to form some idea of the Utopia which, clearly or dimly, existed in his mind. Yet of all those Bābīs who died for their faith, it is very doubtful if one consciously laid down his life for

any such ethical, social, or political ideals. Even about so important a matter as the Future Life we perceive that amongst the Hurūfīs (pp. 71-8, *supra*), as amongst the Bābīs, the greatest difference of opinion and uncertainty of doctrine prevailed; yet of the mystical significations of the numbers 14 and 19 respectively, and of the doctrine concerning "the Point" and "the Letters," hardly one would be entirely ignorant.

The same difference of ideal exists as to the quality and nature of Scripture, the Revealed Word of God. Provided the ethical teaching be sublime, and there be peace for the troubled and comfort for the sorrowful, we care little, comparatively, for the outward form. But in the eyes of the Musulmāns (including, of course, the followers of all those sects, even the most heretical, which have arisen in the bosom of Islām) this outward form is a matter of the very first importance. Every letter and line of the Qur'ān (which always remains the model and prototype of a Revealed Book, even amongst those sects who claim that it has been abrogated by a newer Revelation) is supposed to be fraught with unutterable mystery and filled with unfathomable truth. Generations of acute minds expend their energies in attempts to fathom these depths and penetrate these mysteries. What wonder if the same discoveries are made quite independently by different minds in different ages, working with the same bent on the same material? In studying the religious history of the East, and especially of Persia, let us therefore be on our guard against attaching too much importance to resemblances which may be the natural outcome of similar minds working on similar lines, rather than the result of any historical filiation or connection.

POSTSCRIPT.

For the following interesting extracts from two Turkish works I am indebted to Mr. Gibb:—

(I) *From the Kunhu't-Akhbār of 'Ālī Efendi, composed A.H. 1007.*
(Constantinople printed edition, not dated, vol. iv, pp. 182–3.)

حکایت اولنور که ابو الفتح سلطان محمد خان عصرنده تبریزده
پیدا اولان فضل الله حروفینش بر مرید پلیدی مَرَدَه بلیده سی ایله
ملک رومه گلدی ' بر طریقله شهریار مزبورَه تقرّب ایدوب حضورنده
کلی التفاتنه مظهر دوشدی ' حتی دار السعاده کندو ایچون بر
مسکن خاص دوشتدی ' وزیر محمود پاشا علمادن اولمغله بو خصوصه
آزرده اولدی ' پادشاه زمانش عقیده طاهره سی تکدرنه باعث اولور
دیو دفعی تدارکنه مجدّ اولوب مفتی مزبوری (مولانا فخر الدین
عجمی) حرم سراینه گتورتدی ' وراه حجابده اجلاس ایدوب خلیفه
فضل اللهی دعوت قیلدی ' ائنا کلامده مذهب باطلنه میلان
گوستروب وافر سويلتدی ' مولانا فخر الدین شول محله دکت سکوت
ایتدیکه ملحد مزبورش کلامی حلول قصه سنه یندی فلا جرم اظهار
حقده قضای میرم مقوله سی اولمغین صبر ایده میوب طشره چقدی
و ملحد حروف یه وافرست و لعن ایلدی ' مزبور قاچرق دار
السعاده یه گتدی ' منای مزبور کمال حدّت ایله آردمجه واروب
تعقیب ایتدی ' خواه و نا خواه مزبورش یقاسن اله آلوب کشان
کشان جامع کبیره ایلتدی ' بی وقت اذان اوقیدوب علما و سائر

ناسی بر ریره گتوردی ، بعده منبره چیقوب ملاحده حره نینگ
 مذهب باطل لرینی بر بر بیان ایلدی ، آندن صغره حکمت بقتلهم
 و نفاقهم حتی باشرت با حراقیم دیرک منبردن ایندی ، مسلمانلره
 وافر اوطون گتوردوب بالذات آتش اوفلمگه متقید اولدی ، لحدیه سی
 طویل اولمغین صقالینشک بر مقداری یاندی ، ملحد مزبوری و مرنده
 سینى احراق بالنار ایدوب ذهن پاک سلطانى تکدر تهمتندن خلاص
 قیلدی ، پادشاه موسی الیه ملای مسفورگ ورع و تقواسندن حجاب
 ایدوب منعه متعلق بر سوز سویلمدی ،

Translation.

“It is related that in the time of Abu'l-Feth Sultān Muḥammad Khān an unclean apostle of Faḡlu'llāh the Hurūfī, who appeared in Tabriz, came with his benighted and froward disciples to the Turkish kingdom. He obtained in some manner access to the King, and received the highest marks of his favour; indeed, he had furnished a private lodging for him in the Imperial Palace. The Vizier Maḥmūd Pāshā, being one of the 'Ulamā, was vexed at this incident, and, anticipating that he would corrupt the pure belief of the Prince of the Age, he determined to make strenuous efforts to get rid of him, and [to this end] caused the before-mentioned *Muḡtā* [i.e. Mevlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Ajāmī] to be brought into a private apartment in his mansion. There he seated him behind a curtain, and summoned in the Vicar of Faḡlu'llāh. In the course of conversation, he induced him to speak freely by feigning a predilection for his false doctrine. Mevlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn remained silent to that point when the discourse of that heretic reached the fable of Incarnation [*ḥulūl*]; [then] as through some inexorable compulsion to declare the truth, come what might, he could keep patience no longer, but

rushed out abundantly reviling and cursing that Hurūfī heretic. The latter fled and went to the Imperial Palace, but the before-mentioned *mullā* followed after and pursued him with the utmost fury, and, seizing him by the collar, dragged him *nolens volens* to the Great Mosque. There he raised an unseasonable call to prayer, so bringing the 'Ulamā and other people into one place. Then he ascended into the pulpit and exposed one by one the false beliefs of the Hurūfī heretics, after which, crying out, 'I pronounce them worthy of slaughter for their sacrilege, yea, I set my hand to their burning,' he descended from the pulpit. Then he caused the Musulmāns to bring quantities of firewood, and was actually at the trouble to blow the fire himself, so that, his beard being long, a part of it was burned. So he burned the aforementioned heretic and his froward disciples with fire, and so saved the pure mind of the King from the suspicion of corruption. And the King was so shamed by the aforementioned Mullā's devoutness and piety that he did not utter a single word tending to hinder him."

(II) *The following notice of the obscure poet Temennā'ī is from Latīfī; he is not mentioned by 'Āshiq Chalebī or Qinālī-zādē.*

تمنایای علیہ ما یستحقّ:—قیصریہ قربندن بر قلندر ایدی علم
حروفہ و مذهب تناسخہ متعلق کتابلر جمع ایدوب یانہ خیلی
زنداقہ و ملاحدہ لعن اللہ علی حدہ مجتمع اولمشلر ایدی ' آدم
عالم کبری و مظهر حضرت خدادار دیوب (مطلع)

ای صنم سن مظهر اللہ سن ' نسخہ جملہ کلام اللہ سن '
دیوگوردکلری محبوبہ سجده ایدرلردی و سجده لرنده سهو ایدوب
طریقتی ابلیسہ گیدرلر ایدی ' سلطان بایزید دورنده اول طائفہ

شقاقشگ کیمنی آب تیغله اغراق و کیمنی آتش رذیله احراق
 اندیلر، بو مطلع آتک تَرهاتندن و جمله، کفریاتندن در (مطلع)
 صوفی قلندر اول کل قازت صبحی سقالی
 ساکّه بو بر طوز قدر کیدر بو قیل و قالی
 (بیت) ابله اولمه صوفی ویرمه نقد عمری نسنیه
 گوزگ آچ دیدار و جنت حور و غلمان بونده در
 و بو مطلع فارسی دخی تعریف اسارده آتک گفتار نا هموارندندر
 حبه الخضر که بر کف عارفان جا کرده اند
 از خیال او هزاران نکته پیدا کرده اند

Translation.

"Tumannā'i—may he receive his deserts!—was a wandering darvish (*qalandar*) from the district of Cuesurea. He had collected many books bearing on the Science of the Letters and the Doctrine of Metempsychosis, and there had gathered round him numbers of atheists and heretics (God's curse on each one of them!), who asserted that Man was the Macrocosm and the Manifestation of the Majesty of God, saying:—'*O Idol, thou art the Divine Theophany! Thou art the copy of the whole book of God!*' and worshipped every beauty whom they saw, erring in their worship, and walking in the way of Iblis. In the time of Sulṭān Bāyazīd, they drowned some of this band of schismatics with the water of the sword, and burned others with the fire of repudiation. The following headline (*maṭla'*) is one of his foolish and blasphemous utterances:—

'O *Ṣūfī!* be a *Qalandar*, come, get your hair and beard
 shaved off:
 This is a snare for thee: this talk and tattle passes away.'

(Couplet)—

'Be not a fool, O Ṣūfī; spend not the cash of thy life on aught :

Open thine eyes : Paradise and the Beatific Vision, the black-eyed maidens and fair attendants [of Heaven], are HERE !'

This Persian headline, too, declaring the mysteries, is from his ill-considered utterances :—

'That Grain of Green¹ which the Gnostics hold in the palms of their hands,

By the phantasies which it inspires they have discovered thousands of subtle mysteries.'"

¹ *Habbatu'l-Khadra* is explained by Redhouse as "the fruit of the *Pistachia terebinthus*," and in Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (Tibrān, 1874), p. 464, as the seeds of the *Pistacia acuminata*, or "Persian turpentine-seeds." Here one is tempted to think of *hashish* (*Cannabis Indica*), to which the epithet "green" is so constantly applied by the Persians (e.g. "the Green Parrot," "Master Seyyid," etc.), but it is not unlikely that turpentine-seeds, in consequence of their aphrodisiac properties, may enter into the composition of some of the various preparations used by dervishes.

Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis and Their Connection with the Bektashi Order of Dervishes

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XXII.

**FURTHER NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE
HURUFIS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.**

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., M.R.A.S.

NINE years ago, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 61-94, I published an article entitled *Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect*. The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr* (Ee. 1. 27) in the Cambridge University Library, and two manuscripts (*Anciens Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Supplément Persan*, 107) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of which the former contained (1) the *Isticā-nāma* of the Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, of Astarābād, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawī* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used in the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr*; while the latter contained another Ḥurūfī treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Mahabbat-nāma*. Thanks to information contributed by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, I was also able to prove that the sect, which appears not to have taken root in Persia, the land of its birth, spread into Turkey, where it caused some commotion at several different periods, and suffered several fierce persecutions, amongst the victims of which (in A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417-18) was the bilingual poet Nesīmī, whose *Dirān* is not uncommon in manuscript, and was printed at the *Akhtar* Press in Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881). I was not, however, aware at that time how considerable was the extent of the Ḥurūfī literature still extant, nor did I know that the Ḥurūfī doctrines are still

professed and taught amongst the members of the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes.

The connection of the Hurúfís with the Bektáshís first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdad, from whom I had already purchased a considerable number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Jávidán-náma* or any other Hurúfí books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.-March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5,957) besides some other books of the sect in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while another half-dozen were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5,957 - Or. 5,961.

The comparatively high prices realised by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Hurúfí books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Hurúfí doctrines flourish at the present day.

With this dervish order all who have visited Constantinople or other parts of the Turkish Empire with open eyes are familiar. Towards Christians, and even Christian missionaries, they commonly show an unusual friendliness, but amongst the Muhammadans they are regarded with

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevís, Rúfá'ís, Qádirís, and other dervish orders. The reason of their ill repute I had hitherto been unable to ascertain: it was generally asserted that they shared the Shí'ite views of the Persians, but this did not explain why they were more disliked by the orthodox Sunní Turks than were the heterodox Persians with whom they were supposed to be in sympathy. Moreover, Hájji Bektásh, the founder of the order, though of Persian origin, enjoyed high favour with the Ottoman Sultan in his day, lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and is chiefly known in history as having conferred his blessing on the Janissary corps when it was first formed; a blessing in memory of which the Janissaries wore on their head-dresses a white band, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint as it rested in blessing on the head of their leader. Hájji Bektásh is said by Mu'allim Nájí (*Asámt*, p. 106) to have died in A.H. 738 (= A.D. 1337-8), which date, curiously enough, coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word *Bektáshiyya* (بكتاشيه) by which the order which he founded is known. Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfi was born two years later, in A.H. 740.

The matter is explained and the connection further established in the only printed book included amongst 46 Hurúfi works acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself since 1901. This book, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5), is entitled *Káshifu'l-Asrár u Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár* ("The Revealer of Mysteries and the Refuter of Reprobates"), and was composed by one of the orthodox 'Ulamá named Isháq Efendi in denunciation of the Bektáshís. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Hurúfi work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled '*Ishq-náma* ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Dín Firishtazáda. Of this book the Bektáshís had three years previously (in A.H. 1288 = A.D. 1871-2) ventured to publish a lithographed edition, of which also I possess a copy. In the preface of his refutation Isháq Efendi speaks (p. 2) as follows:—

"Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is obvious both from their words and deeds that they are not of the Muslims, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they made this fact patent to all. The books which these persons call *Jávidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfí, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas* (Vicars). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves; but as Firishta-záda in his *Jávidán*, entitled '*Ishq-náma* ("The Book of Love"), did in some measure conceal his blasphemies, and since in the above-mentioned year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they [i.e. the Bektáshís] made so bold as to print and circulate this work, it has unquestionably become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be written to make known to the faithful their true character, and the blasphemous nature of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, as follows:—

"Chapter i:—Setting forth the origin of Fadl[u'lláh] the Hurúfí, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís.

"Chapter ii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda's *Jávidán*.

"Chapter iii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Jávidáns*."

The author next speaks briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarámiya*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibáhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Hurúfís. Thence he passes to Fadlu'lláh, "who," says he, "secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Khalífas* or Vicars." "After a while," he continues further on, "the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlane]

caused Fadl the Hurúfi to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and *bázars*, and removed his foul existence from this nether world."

After the death of the founder of the Hurúfi sect, according to Isháq Efendi, "his *Khalīfas*, or Vicars, agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims," and he who bore the title of *al-'Alī al-A'lá* ("the High, the Supreme") came to the monastery of Hájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and there lived in seclusion, teaching the *Jávidán* to the inmates of the monastery, and assuring them that it represented the teaching of Hájji Bektásh the Saint (*walī*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Isháq Efendi, "being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Jávidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the Secret'; and enjoined the utmost secrecy concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the Secret' they consider his life forfeit. By this their so-called 'Secret' is meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Jávidán*, hinted at and alluded to by detached letters like *alif* (ا), *waw* (و), *jim* (ج), and *zayn* (ز), for the understanding of which symbols they have composed a tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life'). This they name 'the Secret'; and should one possess it, he understands the *Jávidán*, which without it is incomprehensible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion should obtain some inkling of its nature, and should suppress it; and thus, since A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8), have they succeeded in secretly seducing many.

"But in A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5), during the reign of his late Majesty Sultán Maḥmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose abode is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*úlu*), who sold false miracles to the ignorant, to be put to death, their monasteries to be levelled with the ground, and their lands and part of their allowances to be made over to the

Naqsh-bandí order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the guise of shaykhs and dervishes of the Sa'dí, some of the Rufá'í, some of the Qádirí, and some of the Naqshbandí orders, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach their blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), they fully disclosed their false doctrines, to such a degree that Firishta-záda dared to print and publish amongst the Muslims his *Jávidán*."

The author next enumerates their chief heresies and the wiles whereby they seek to mislead simple-minded Muslims. He says that they believe in the divinity of Faḍlu'lláh, and regard the Deity as a power which manifested itself through Moses, Jesus, and all the great Prophets, and revealed the Scriptures which they brought, though it did not reveal their true allegorical meaning until it appeared in person as Faḍlu'lláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábád in Persia, bringing the *Jávidán*, which contained the true explanation of all the revealed books which had preceded it. This being their actual belief, they pretend to be Shí'ites and devoted admirers of the Prophetic Household, declaring love of the Prophet's family to be the root of the matter, and the sins of him who loves 'Alí to be venial. Thus they accustom their neophytes to neglect prayer and fasting and to indulge in forbidden practices, like the drinking of wine, and only "when they are well assured of their infidelity," to quote our author's words, "do they teach them that blasphemous heresy which they call 'the Secret,' since in fact there is in the *Jávidáns* no mention of the name of anyone connected with the Holy Family; only, in order to attract the Shí'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Faḍl the Hurúfí."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule or custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He who girds himself with one of these girdles takes the Prophet represented by that girdle as his special patron, and professes to observe his law, but in fact only observes some one point

which he regards as typical of that Prophet. They also believe in the three Persons of the Christian Trinity, and credit their own *bábás* or elders with miraculous powers, but the neophytes of the order are ignorant of these things, and merely believe themselves to be Shí'ites.

I should like, did space permit, to quote at greater length from this interesting book, but I have, I think, said enough to prove beyond all doubt the intimate connection which exists between the Hūrúfís and the Bektáshís. It is curious that the sect seems to have disappeared from Persia, the land of its birth, while in Turkey its main stronghold is, as I am informed by Mr. Andrew Ryan, British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, in Albania. Hence, while the older Hūrúfí literature is chiefly in Persian, the later literature is almost entirely in Turkish. In Arabic there appears to be but little, save a version (apparently abridged) of Firishta-záda's '*Ishq-náma*, of which a manuscript (labelled كتاب الفضل الإلهي) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the Hūrúfís I have not space to speak at length here; I have discussed them in outline in my article in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 69-89, and an admirable sketch of these is given by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in vol. i of his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 338-342, 353-355, 373 *et seqq.* Nor are the materials required for a full elucidation of these doctrines at present sufficiently accessible, though in a short time M. Clément Huart will publish in the Gibb Memorial Series a volume of Persian Hūrúfí texts with French translations, to which I hope to add a short Introduction or Appendix. Amongst the texts which M. Huart proposes to publish are the *Hidáyat-náma*, the *Maḥram-náma*, the *Niháyat-náma*, and other treatises, as well as a list of the abbreviations used by the Hūrúfís, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Jávidán-i-Kabir* and other Hūrúfí writings.

I regret that at present I have been unable to find any reference to the execution of Faḍlu'lláh, or the causes which led to it, in any of the chronicles of the reign of Timúr-i-Lang,

in which it occurred. Nor are the chief dates given altogether satisfactory, for while A.H. 804 (= A.D. 1401-2) is mentioned by Ibn Hajar as the date of Faḍlu'lláh's death, and, more generally, A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) by Isháq Efendi as the date when the Hurúfí doctrines began to be promulgated, we find on the fly-leaf of one of the Hurúfí MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6,381), dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), the following series of dates:—

- (1) Birth of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 740 (= A.D. 1339-40).
- (2) Manifestation, or disclosure, of knowledge, A.H. 788 (= A.D. 1386-7).
- (3) Martyrdom of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 796 (= A.D. 1393-4).
- (4) Age of Faḍlu'lláh at the time of his death, 56 years.
- (5) Death of his *Khalífa*, or Vicar, entitled *Hadrat-i-'Alíyyi A'lá*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dajjál*), who is "Márán-sháh" (i.e. Tímúr's son, Míránsháh, whose name the Hurúfís have thus changed to make it mean "the Serpent-King"), A.H. 803 (= A.D. 1400-1).

Lastly, the following verse, inscribed by the side of the above dates, would seem to imply that Faḍlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 775 (= 1373-4):—

از ذال گذشته عین و هی چون ' از کعبه قدم نهاد بیرون

"*Ayn* (ع = 70) and *Há* (ه = 5) had passed from *Dhál* (ذ = 700) when he [i.e. Faḍlu'lláh] set his foot outside the Ka'ba."

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from quoting a very curious and interesting document which I found on f. 24 of the British Museum MS. Or. 6,380, and which appears to be, having regard both to the superscription and the contents, the last testament of Faḍlu'lláh, written on a piece of paper and placed by him between the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhi*. This document runs as follows:—

وصیت نامه

سواد خط مبارک ح ق ج ه [یعنی حضرت فضل جل شأنه]
 بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبت نامه الهی بود قطع
 یک دل از شوق سخنها دارم قاصدی نیست که در پیش تو
 تقریر کند، خدا بر حال این فقیر گواه است که بغیر از تفرقه اطفال
 و مفارقت اصحاب هیچ نگرانی نمانده است، مسئله چند که
 نگران بود تسلیم آن عزیز و عزیزان کرده است، اگر حق تعالی
 جمیع نیک خواسته باشد برسد باقی تا چه خواهد کرد، یا رب
 یا رب شبهای من

در همه عمر مرا یک دوست در شروان نبود (f. 24b)
 دوست کی باشد کجا ای کاش بودی آشنا
 من حسین وقت و نا اهلان یزید و شمر من
 روز گارم جدمله عاشورا و شروان کربلا

بر آن عزیزان پوشیده نیست که این فقیر را از جهت دین نگرانی
 نمانده است سلام و دعای ما درین آخر باصحاب و یاران و دوستان
 برسانند و نوع سازند که این قاعده ها و این ابیات و این حقایق
 بایشان برسد، روز چند بگوشه نا شناخت فرو کش کنند و آنرا
 ضبط بکنند و این آئین نو است، آن فرزندان و ماندگان و آزادگان را
 از ما به پرسند والسلام

TRANSLATION.

"TESTAMENT.

("Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. H. [= HADIRAT-I-FADLU'LLAH, JALLA SHA'NUHU]¹ written on a fragment of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Maḥabbat-nāma*.)

"I have a whole heart [filled] with eagerness for speech, but there is no messenger to declare to thee [what I would say]. God is witness of the condition of this poor unfortunate that, save parting from [his] children and separation from [his] friends, no expectation is left. [The settlement of] sundry matters which were pending he leaves to that dear friend and other dear friends. If God Almighty desires good for all, it will come: for the rest [we must wait and see] what He will do. O Lord, O Lord of my nights!

*In the town of Shirván all my life not a single friend
was mine:*

*Who and where is a friend? Alas! not e'en an acquaintance
I saw!*

*The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shimir
and Yazid,*

My life is a day of mourning, and Shirván my Kerbelá.

It is not hidden from those dear friends that no expectation remains to this poor unfortunate in the matter of religion. Convey my salutations and prayers at this last moment to my companions and friends and dear ones, and act in such manner that these rules [of conduct], verses and truths, may reach them. Let them be laid away for a few days in some secret corner, and let them be well kept. This is the New Ordinance. Let my son enquire on our part after those who are left and the noble ones. Farewell."

¹ The use of the expression *jalla sha'nuhu*, 'glorious in His state,' after the name of a man, is, of course, rank blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox, but the Hurafis, who regard Fadlu'llah as an Incarnation of the Deity, habitually place it after his name, generally in the abbreviated form here employed.

This letter, obscure as it is in certain passages, has nevertheless a human and personal note rarely to be found in the misty utterances of the Ḥurúfís. To us it seems strange that in Asia men should have been, nay, and still are, so ready to die for subtleties so intangible and ideas so bizarre as those which constitute the doctrines of the Ḥurúfís and other similar sects, and we are apt to think that some great ethical or eschatological idea must underlie them. But this, in my opinion, is an error; in Asia, especially in Persia, men lay down their lives for a new Avatar and a number fraught with mystical significance, like the numbers 7, 12, 14, or 19, rather than for some social or ethical ideal. In the West religion is chiefly concerned with conduct, but in the East with knowledge.

I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) OR. 5,957 (*Persian and dialect of Astarábád*).

The *Jávidán-i-Kabir* of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí (ff. 4^b–481^a), followed by another tract (ff. 481^b–483^b), and (f. 484^b) a short poem explaining why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jávidán-i-Kabir*. At the end of the volume (ff. 485^a–490^a) is a vocabulary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán*, containing the explanation of some 770 words, and entitled لغت استرآبادی (“Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect”). Ff. 490 of 22·5 × 12·4 c. Transcribed by the Mu’adhdhin (Mu’ezzín) Darwísh ‘Ísá b. Kamálu’d-Dín Khwájá of ارکری کسری in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

(2) OR. 5,957* (*Persian*).

Miftáh-i-Ḥurúf-i-Jávidán, a key to the abbreviations and signs employed in the *Jávidán*, of which some 150 are explained. Ff. 3 (ff. 1^b–3^b written on). Acquired with the above MS., within the covers of which it was originally placed.

(3) Or. 5,958 (*Persian*).

A tract with no proper title, described as رسالة فضل حروفی, apparently by Fadlu'lláh, beginning:—

ذات نطق كه وجود سی كلمه حضرت فضل حق است چه
مجموع موجود است الخ

Transcribed by Darwīsh Husayn Aḥmad in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742–3).

(4) Or. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ādam-nāma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'liq* hand, by Darwīsh 'Alī-qulī, in Rabi' ii, A.H. 987 (= June, A.D. 1579), and purchased by the Museum 30, iii, 1901. Ff. 289 of 25·3 × 17 c. and 16 lines; rubrications.

(5) Or. 5,960 (*Turkish*).

The *'Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-zāda ('Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dīn), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1^b–2^a), and beginning:—

ف حقیقه امیر المؤمنین علی کرم الله وجهه ، و قد اختصر
الأبواب على الاثنين والثلاثين بعدد اثنا وثلاثين كلمة تامة الهيئة أزلية
و ابدية و علم آدم الاسماء كلها

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429–30). This copy was completed on Ramadān 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 23·7 × 15·9 c. and 25 lines.

(6) Or. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five Hūrufī works, dated A.H. 1274 (= A.D. 1857–8), and comprising ff. 117 of 16·2 × 10·5 c. It was bought 30, iii, 1901, and contains:—

- (1) *Itisála-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayán* (on the "Point of Explanation"), ff. 1-33, beginning:—

قوله تعالى سُرِّيمَ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْآفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ
أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ، اِی طالب بیل و آگاه اول که . . . الخ

- (2) *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 34^b-57^a), beginning:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ، 'أما بعد'، بو فقیر عبد المجید بن فرشته
عز الدین . . . آخرت نامه بو کتابی تحریر ایلدی

- (3) Commentary on a *qaṣida* by Abdál Bába (ff. 58^b-81^b), beginning:—

بالتَّوَّه ایدم اَوَّلَا سُودَم که آشکار اولام
تا بن دخی آدم گبی بر دم جهان بابا اولام،

- (4) Tract by Mithálí (ff. 82^b-86^b), beginning:—

فَ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ، حضرت ف خدا
ذات بی همتا عرشنامه الهی و تأویل کلام نا متناهیسنده که جواهر
دُر مکنون و علم لندن،

أَوَّلُ سَبْعِ الْمَثَانِي اِی حکیم، هست بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،
دیوب مناسبته بو بیتی نظم بیور مشلردر بن حقیر و فقیر پُر گناه
بندد کمرترین فضل اله اعنی مثالی خاکپای اهل الله . . . الخ

- (5) A Turkish poem in 32 *maqálas* and a *tatimma*, beginning:—

سَطْر بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، آدم و حوّا در ای دیور رحیم،
یعنی بسم التّهدن اِسْتَه آدمی، ف حق سلطان هر دو عالمی،

In this doctrinal poem, which fills the remainder of the MS., the doctrines of the Ḥurúfis are pretty clearly set forth.

(7) Or. 6,290 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A fine old copy of the *Dicān of Nestmī*, transcribed in Ramaḍān, A.H. 974 (= March–April, A.D. 1567), by Darwīsh Muṣṭafá Nā-Murād, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 17 of 19·8 × 12·2 c., written in a good *ta'liq* and entitled:—

غزلیات نسیمی البغدادی [الملقب بعماد الدین] من اصحاب
فضل فیتاض الحروف المقتول بسیف الشرع فی حدّ سنه ٩٧٤
فی كشف الظنون

(8) Or. 6,293 (*Persian*).

The '*Arsh-nāma*, a *mathnawī* poem of about 1,120 *bayts*, transcribed in Muḥarram, A.H. 1274 (= Aug.–Sept., A.D. 1857), and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Begins:—

بی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ' آدم خاکست ای دیو رجیم
' آدم خاکی که جان عالمست ' پیش ذات حق وی اسم اعظمست

(9) Or. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Dicān of 'Arshī Dedé*, transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmūd Bābā, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of 23 × 14·2 c. and 19 lines. Begins:—

بای بسم الله ایله قرآنه ایتدم ابتدا
قاف ویا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا

The copyist further describes himself as:—

ساکن بدرگاه شهید بکت قرب رومیلی حصاری حافظ احمد
السعدا

(10) Or. 6,295 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Ṣalāḥī (or Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn), transcribed at Sofia

in Jumáda ii, A.H. 1238 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1823), purchased 6, xii, 1901, and containing:—

نطقی شریف حضرت مصری شرح صلاحی عبد الله افندی (1)
قدس سرهما

This fills ff. 1-32, and begins:—

ایکی قاشق آره سنده چکدی خط استوا
علم الاسمائی تعلیم ایتدی اول خطدن خدا

Ends on f. 32^a thus:—

بر زمان مصری لسانندن بو نطقی نظم ایدن
شمدی رمزینی صلاحیدن ینه شرح ایلدی

The copyist's name is given as Aḥmad Fā'iz, and the date of transcription as A.H. 1231 (= A.D. 1816).

(2) A prose tract in Turkish (ff. 33-36), without title.

(3) A Turkish tract (ff. 37-46) in mixed prose and verse.

(4) On f. 47^a. The figure of the Hurufi man, entitled:—

نصحه کبرا [نسخه کبری for] در بو

(5) Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Ṣalāḥī Efendi's commentary (composed in A.H. 1175 = A.D. 1761-2: see f. 83) on a Persian *ghazal* of 11 *bayts* with the *radif* یافتم by Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (ff. 48^b-83^a), beginning:—

پیر طریقت سلطان مولانای رومی حضرتلر ینگ اون بر بیت یافتم
غزلنی شیخ عبد الله صلاحی افندی شرح ایتمشدر قدس سرهما العزیز

دوش وقت مباحدم در چرخ پایان یافتم
در میان دانه خشخاش سندان یافتم

یکت کلاهی داشتم از لب لبو گم شد زمن
در میان دفتر ملا سلیمان یافتم

Shaykh Salāḥu'd-Dīn is described as belonging to the Khalwati order of dervishes (من الخلوتية الكاملة).

- (6) A Persian tract (ff. 84^b–103^a) by the above-mentioned Ṣalāḥī Efendi on the “Companions of [the Battle of] Badr,” entitled:—

رساله فارسی صلاحی افندی در اصحاب بدر

Begins:—

‘بنظم این رساله یا الهی ‘ مرا بنما طریقِ راست راهی

(11) Or. 6,379 (*Persian*).

The *Kurst-nāma*, a Persian *mathnawī* poem of about 4,349 *bayts*, beginning:—

ابتدارا بهترین نام خدا ‘ بود فضلش کردم از وی ابتدا
فـ الله آن خداوند کریم ‘ هادی خلد از صراط مستقیم

Ff. 199 of 14 × 9·5 c. Transcription completed at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1025 (= Jan. 8, A.D. 1617). Purchased 13, v, 1902.

(12) Or. 6,380 (*Persian*).

A collection of Hurūfī tracts, including the *Waṣīyyat-nāma*, the *Tahqīq-nāma*, the *Bashārat-nāma*, and the *Hidāyat-nāma*, transcribed (f. 23^b) in A.H. 1004 (= A.D. 1595–6), and purchased 13, v, 1902. Ff. 103 of 17·6 × 12 c. Contents:

- (1) The *Waṣīyyat-nāma* (ff. 2^b–23^b). The title occurs on f. 4^a in the following passage:—

خواست که رساله بر سبیل اختصار باسم وصیت نامه و یادگار
از جمعی درویشان صادق و طالبان محقق همدمان محرم و
محرومان همدم موسوم بوصیت نامه کتابت کند

This tract is divided into sections (فصول), each beginning بدان ای درویش. Colophon on f. 23^b,

giving date of completion as the beginning of Muḥarram, A.H. 1004 (= Sept., A.D. 1595), and name of copyist as Walí.

- (2) On f. 24^a is a short prose passage (8 lines) on what happens to the soul after the destruction of the body, followed by the testament (*Wasīyyat-nāma*) of Faḍlu'llāh, of which the text and translation are given on pp. 541-2 *supra*.
- (3) F. 25^a. Two versified lists of the Twelve Imāms, of 3 and 9 *bayts* respectively, by Jalālī Bey and Sayyid Nesīmí.
- (4) Ff. 25-28. A *qaṣida* of about 125 *bayts*, beginning:—

بفضل بای بسم الله سخن گوئیم که در عیرا (۹)

که بی هر دو جهان بود و بود همچون الف یکتا

On f. 29^b is another colophon, giving the date Muḥarram, A.H. 999 (= Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1590). This is followed by a poem of 17 *bayts* rhyming in ق, and by a few remarks on prayer, etc.

- (5) The *Bashárat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* (ff. 30^a-62^b), a *mathnawī* poem of about 1,089 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khalīfas*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'llāh named Abu'l-Ḥasan, and beginning:—

دوش در هبگام صبح اولین ' با حریف حوزوش بودم قرین

- (6) Ff. 62^b-64^b. A short prose tract, beginning:—

چند کلمه در باب موازین عبارات اهـ لا کرده می شود . . . الخ

- (7) The *Ḥidāyat-nāma* (ff. 64^b-103^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا . . . الخ ' بدان ای طالب
عاشق صادق وقتك الله تعالى فى طلب المعانى و الكمالات كه
جميع سالكان . . . الخ

The '*Arsh-nāma* is cited on ff. 82^b and 92^b, and the '*Javidān-nāma* on f. 95^a. Fadlu'llāh is spoken of as "His Holiness the Master of the Interpretation" (حضرت صاحب تأویل).

There is a final colophon on f. 103^b giving the date of transcription of the '*Hidāyat-nāma* as Sha'bān, A.H. 1003 (= April - May, A.D. 1595), followed by 3 *bayts* from the '*Maḥshār-nāma-i-Ilāhī* of Ḥadrat-i-'Aliyyi A'lā, one of the *Khalīfas* of Fadlu'llāh.

(13) Or. 6,381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Hurufī tract by Mīr Fāḍilī (ff. 4^b-101^a), beginning:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بفضلہ نستعین ' قوله جَ تَ جَ تَ کلام
صاحب کمال کہ بیان ف ت و همه اشیا هکره . . . اکنون
بدانکہ این فقیر و حقیرا درین آیت با حرمت کہ وعده رؤیت را
ق ت ع اول بسی شب کردند '

The colophon (on f. 101^a) is dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), and is followed (ff. 101^b *et seqq.*) by a commentary by Ḥamza Bey, and (ff. 108^a-113^a) by numerous verses from different sources. I have already referred (p. 540 *supra*) to the important series of dates given on f. 2^a of this MS. They are given in figures and also, in the following note, in words:—

ظهور و بروز ق خدا از هجرت حبیب خدام در هفت صد و
هشتاد و هشت شد '
و ولادت او در هفت صد و چهل واقع شد '
و شهادت او در هفت صد و نود و شش شد '
و مقتول شدن دجال کہ مارانشاه است علیہ اللعنة در س^{۳۳}

In a marginal note the last date is "corrected" to A.H. 703, which is an obvious error. Amongst the numerous other notes and verses scribbled on the blank pages of this MS. are the following:—

بہشتدن بش نسنہ طشرہ چیتدی اول آدم و حوا و شیطان و
طاوس و مار، آمدن مراد روحدر و حوا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت
در و طاوس شہوتدر و مار غضب در (f. 1a)

بیت، آب در چشمہ خورشید نماند ای عیسی،
خون بدست آر کہ با خاک تیمم گرفت (f. 2a)
رباعیات سید اسحق،

سی سال ز بعدہ مرگ از ف خدا،
ناگاہ بگوشم آمد از غیب ندا،
کہ مردہ صد سال چہ حقتی در خاک،
بر خیز کہ ہنگام حسابست و جزا (f. 2a)

II. IN MY OWN COLLECTION.

(14) A. 41.

One of five *Hurûfî* MSS. bought at the sale of the effects of a *Bektâshî* dervish in May, 1901. Ff. 205 of 15·5 × 10·5 c.
Contents:—

- (1) *Hikmatu'l-Asrâr* (ff. 1^b–6^a), a short tract in Turkish, consisting chiefly of quotations from the *Qur'ân* and the Traditions, and beginning:—

اسلام دینتگ بنیادی بش نسنہ اوزرہ در الخ

- (2) Two quotations of six verses each, apparently from the *Mathnawî* (f. 7^a).

- (3) The *Musajja'*, a short Persian treatise in rhymed prose, of Mawláná Ghiyáth (ff. 7^b–9^a), beginning:—

ای دل رهبره رو و ره بر روج پرور • مطلع انور ساز برابر سجع
سراسر مدحت حیدر الخ

- (4) A *qasida* of 162 *bayts* (ff. 9^a–15^b) by Kamál b. Ghiyáth, beginning:—

ای دل دانا زبان بکشا و یک دم با خود آ
اول دفتر مزین کن بتوحید خدا

This is followed (ff. 15^b–25^b) by other pieces of verse by Sa'di, 'Attár, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

- (5) The *Khutbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish), of which the title and opening words run thus:—

هذا كتاب خطبة البيان امير المؤمنين حضرت شاه مردان كترم
الله وجهه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ' حمد بى حد و ثناى بى عدد . . .
الخ ' اما بعد حمد و ثنا و الصلوة والسلام . . . الخ ' اما بعد
ای طالب راه حقیقت اگر بیلیمک دیلرسن که تحقیقاً کیمدر اول
شاه اولیا و وصی • مصطفی اول ولی • مجتبا اول سرور اصفیا . . . الخ

It comprises seventy *Kalimas*, or sayings of 'Alí b. Abí 'Talib, each of which is explained and illustrated, and fills ff. 26^b–181^a. The colophon is dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575–6).

- (6) A short tract in Turkish entitled *Irshád-i-Kisva* (ff. 181^b–183^a), beginning after the doxology:—

اما بعد ' بر نچه كلمه تاج و كسوه بيان ادر ' امام • محمد باقر ع ر
بو رساليه ارشاد كسود ديو آد وردى

- (7) Another tract in Turkish by Bába Qayghúsiz (ff. 183^a–185^b), beginning :—

ای عقل کامل بو سوژگ جوهرنه بر نظر ایله گور نه بیان ایلر

- (8) Another short tract in Turkish (ff. 185^b–186^a) on 23 things which man must avoid.
- (9) Another short Turkish tract (f. 186^a) on the tradition “He who knows himself hath known his Lord.”
- (10) A Persian tract by Zaynu’l-Dín al-Khwáfí on Šúfi ethics (آداب الصوفیه), in 19 chapters (ff. 186^b–189^b).
- (11) Another Persian tract (ff. 189^b–192^a) on the dispute between Knowledge (علم), Understanding (عقل), Prosperity (دولت), and Health (عافیت).
- (12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-nâma-i-Núshtrwân*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmihr for his sovereign (ff. 192^b–196^a).
- (13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197^b–198^b) by a disciple of the saint Jamálu’l-Dín al-Husayn al-Qudsi on the 32 letters contained in the Prophet’s titles.
- (14) A Persian tract (ff. 198^b–202^b) in eleven sections, beginning :—

فصل اول در اقسام نفوس وآن چهار است فلکی و حیوانی و نباتی

و طبیعی آخ

- (15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Rafiqí and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203^a–203^b).
- (16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid ‘Imádu’l-Dín Nesímí in Turkish (ff. 203^b–204^b). He is said to have taken his *takhallus* from a district called Nesím near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shibli, but afterwards of Faḍlu’lláh the Ḥurúfí, one of whose Vicars (*Khulafá*) he became.
- (17) A few of the *qit‘as* of Ibn Yamín (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Ḥurúfí, but rather such

mixture of Šúfi and Shí'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektáshí neophyte, though the notice of Nesímí indicates sympathy with the Hurúfis.

(15) A. 42 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshí sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17·4 × 12·1 c. Contents:—

- (1) *Bayán-i-Aḥwál-i-Ḥashr wa Amr-i-Ma'ád* (ff. 1^b–4^b) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

هذا بيان احوال حشر و امر معادی بیلدیر،
ایمدی معلوم اولدیکه بزم کندو ذوقمزه احوال حشر و امر
معادین تمثیلی اولدیرکه جمیع مشکلر انسانه معلوم اوله دورت
مرتبه اوزرینه دیر الخ

- (2) *Risála-i-Ḥulûl u Ittihad-i-bi-hál* (ff. 4^b–8^a) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سید شریف قدس سره حاشیه بخیریده بیان ایلدیگی بحثی
قظمیر نقل ادوب دیر که الخ

- (3) The *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-zádu (ff. 8^b–15^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين ولا عدوان الا على
الظالمين وصلى الله على مبظهر الذات محمد وآله اجمعين
اما بعد، بو فقير عبد المجيد ابن فرشته اصلح الله شأنه و صانه عما
شانه الخ

- (4) The *Kitáb-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayán* by Shaykh-zádu (ff. 19^b et seq.), beginning:—

قال الله تعالى آية سنربهم آياتنا في الآفاق وفي أنفسهم حتى
يتبين لهم أنه الحق، ای طالب بیل و آگاه اولکه آفاقدہ نشانلر
واردیر الخ

It comprises 22 sections (فصل), and is dated Friday, 15 Jumáda i, A.H. 1282 (= Oct. 6, A.D. 1865). The scribe, As'ad, calls himself "the least of the servants of the Family of the Cloak [i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fátima, her husband 'Alí, and their two sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn] and the servant of Maḥmúd Bába" [who was no doubt the Pír, or Elder, of the *tekyé* to which he belonged].

- (5) F. 79^a. A Turkish quatrain and two *bayts*, one in Turkish and one in Persian.
- (6) Ff. 79^b–80^b. A short Turkish tract on the secrets of the virtues of the letters, and the knowledge of the numbers belonging to the letters.
- (7) A short Turkish tract on the true nature of man (f. 81^a). The remaining pages (ff. 81^b–88^b) are blank.

(16) A. 43 (*Turkish*).

A collection of Hürufí poems and treatises, containing ff. 134 of 17·5 × 12·2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

- (1) A *qasída* of Shuhúdí (ff. 1^b–3^b), beginning:—

غرض ایجادِ عالمِ دین ظهورِ ذاتِ داورِ در
عجب معنی نازکدر که عقل آندہ مقتدرِ در

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شبودی اوتوز ایکی حرفتگ اسرارینه ایردگسه
امین اولدگ صوسزلق زحمتندن آب کوثرِ در

This is followed by other Hurúfî poems (ff. 3^b-11^a) by Shuhúdí, Surúrî, Khalílî, and Nesímî, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na'ímî, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to 'Alî.

- (2) The *Bashârat-nâma* of Rafî'î (ff. 11^b-54^a), beginning:—

قال النبى صلعم فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات
 'أول سبع المثنائى اى حكيم' گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

The poem comprises some 1,440 verses, and ends:—

بو دعایى مستجاب ایت یا مجیب
 'فصلت اظهار ایت پدیدار حبیب'

The characteristic Hurúfî symbols for the numbers 28 and 32 are of constant occurrence, and are always substituted in the poem for the Turkish equivalents of these numbers, *yigirmi sekiz* and *otuz iki*.

- (3) The *Tuhfa* of Shuhúdí, a Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 55^b-76^a), beginning:—

'ابتدا فضل عظیم لا ینام' حمد لله گلدی مفتاح کلام

F. 76^b is blank. On f. 77^a is inscribed a *bayt* from the *Kursî-nâma* and a reported saying of 'Alî in respect to the different classes of those who know God.

- (4) A Turkish treatise (ff. 77^b-80^b) without title, beginning:—

و لبثوا فی کھفہم ثلث مائة و آزدادوا تسعا یعنی اگلندیلر اصحاب
 کھف مغارہ لری ایچنده اوچیوز ییل دخی طقوز ییل عبارتدر سته
 ایامدن که اوچیوز بیش ییل اولور الخ

- (5) Another short piece (ff. 80^b-81^a), beginning:—

قال الشيخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التأويل اسرار جهر
 و اخفاء صلات این طغراء دو ابرو و چهار مژه و موی سر منشق بخط
 استوا الخ

- (6) A tract in Persian (ff. 81^a–88^b) without title, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدى لولا هداانا الله ، بنام
قديم لايزال الخ

- (7) The *Hidāyat-nāma*, in Turkish, with Persian preface, by Firishta-zāda (ff. 89^b–112^b), beginning:—

بنام قديم لايزال و عليم متعال . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، باعث
اين تحرير و سبب اين تقرير آن بود كه ياران همدم و همدمان
محرم طالبان تحقيق دينى و صادقان مستحق يقينى از اين تفسير
داعى بنده فضل يزدانى عبد المجيد اين فرشته عز الدين اصلح الله
شأنه التماس كردند كه . . . الخ

The title is given on f. 90^a, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabī' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Faḍlu'llāh (صاحب تأويل) occur on ff. 96^a, 111^b, 112^a–112^b.

- (8) A Turkish poem of 42 *bayts* (ff. 113^b–114^b), by Darwīsh Alwān, entitled *Dast-nāma*, beginning:—

ايشتكيم نظمله برسوز ديم خوش
اگر عاقل ايشگ جان ايله ايت گوش

- (9) The *Ganj-nāma*, a Turkish *mathnawī* poem (ff. 115^b–120^a) by Rafī'ī, beginning:—

ای گنج نھان بی بدایت ، وی بحر محیط بی نہایت

- (10) The *Shahriyār-nāma* (ff. 121^b–131^a), a Turkish *mathnawī* poem by Panāhī, beginning:—

ابتدا در ابتدا در ابتدا ، ابتدادن حاصل اولدى انتها
ابتدا گلدی کلام لاينام ، فی و غاد و لام حقدن و السلام

It was composed, according to the concluding verses (f. 131^a), in A.H. 860 (= A.D. 1456):—

دیر ۸۰۰ ییل ۱۰ ییل ایدی ' بو تمام اولمقلغه محویل ایدی
نطی حقن اولدی بوسوزلر تمام ' ایلرکده آدیدر مایه میام

The remaining leaves (ff. 131^b–134) are blank.

(17) A. 49 (*Turkish*: printed).

The *Kāshifū'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'ū'l-Ashrār* of Ishāq Efendi, discussed in the earlier portion of this article, a Refutation of the Bektāshīs and Hurūfīs in three chapters, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874–5). Pp. 174 of 15·7 × 11·5. Begins, after the brief doxology:—

و بعد ' معلوم اوله که اهل اسلامی اضلالیه مشغول اولان
طوائفک اش باشلوجه سی طائفه بکتاشیان اولوب آخ

(18) A. 69 (*Turkish*).

Lithographed edition of the '*Ishq-nāma* (here called '*Āshiq-nāma-i-Ilāhī*') of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta (or "Firishta-zāda") 'Izzu'd-Dīn, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Jāvidān-nāma*, and was made (p. 3, ll. 2–3) in Shawwāl, A.H. 833 (= June–July, A.D. 1430). It is divided into 32 chapters, of which the contents are stated on pp. 5–7, and begins:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين ' والصلوة والسلام على رسولنا محمد
و آله وصحبه اجمعين ' والعاقبة للمتقين ' والعدوان على الشياطين '
آقا بعد ' بو حقیر فرشته زاده عبد المجید عز الدین اصلح الله شأنه
ایدرکه . . . الخ

Pp. 164 of 20 × 13·5 c. There is no date or place of publication, but this is probably the edition referred to in the *Kāshifū'l-Asrār* (see p. 536 *supra*) as having been published in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2).

It is followed by another treatise, with separate pagination (pp. 19), entitled *Kamāl-nāma-i-Āl-i-‘Abā*, beginning:—

حَسَنَ حَمْدِ زَكِيٍّ نَامَعْدُودٍ، وَحُسْبَيْنِ ثَنَائِيٍّ وَفِي نَا مَعْدُودٍ اَوَّلِهِ
الْح . . .

(19) B. 15 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 90 of 22·2 × 13·2 c. One of seven MSS. bought in September, 1901, containing:—

- (1) The *Miftāh*, or key to the contractions occurring in the *Iḥrūfī* writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2^b–3^b). This is probably “the tract entitled *Miftāḥu’l-Ḥayāt* (‘The Key of Life’)” referred to in the *Kāshifū’l-Asrār*. See p. 537 *supra*.
- (2) *Sirrū’l-Mufradāt* (“The Secret of the single [Letters]”: ff. 4^a–5^b). This describes a form of *abjad* in which the numerical values of the letters differ from those ordinarily assigned: e.g., ح = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 8; ط = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 9, up to ن = 7 (i.e. ز) instead of 50; س again = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 60; ع = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 70, up to ش, which again = 7. In other words, the first seven letters of the *abjad* (ا ب ج د ه و ز) are discarded, or keep their original values of 1–7, and the remaining 21 fall into 3 groups of 7 each, the letters in each group indicating the numbers 1 to 7. Begins:—

يَخْشَى نَظَرَ اَيَّدِهَسْنَ كَه قَانُونِ نَيْجَه ضَبْطِ . . . اَلْح

- (3) The *‘Ishq-nāma* of Firishṭa-zāda (ff. 5^b–85^b), lacking the Preface which precedes the Table of Contents in the lithographed edition, and beginning with the latter, which agrees with the lithograph. On the other hand, in this MS. a different Preface, lacking in the lithograph, is interpolated between the Table of Contents and Chapter i. This begins, after the short doxology:—

اما بعد ، حضرت احدیته حمد ایتدکدن صغره و رسول حضرتنه
سلام ایتدکدن صغره معلوم و مفهوم اولنه که بو علم لدنیة الهی فارسی
لسانی اوزرینه ایدی

The author's name, title of the work, and date of composition stand here (f. 6^b) as in the lithograph, but the two texts, though probably representing two different recensions, appear in the main to correspond.

(20) C. 6 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of 'Arshî, a Turkish Hurûfî poet, bought 22, v, 1901. Ff. 90 of 22·7 × 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

با بسم اللہ ایله قرانه ایتدم ابتدا
قاف و یا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا

(21) C. 7 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of another Turkish poet named Muhiyyu'd-Dîn Abdâl, bought 22, v, 1901, beginning:—

بزده بلدیگمزی سویلیم ، دڭلیانه علی مدحن ایلیم
علی در مؤمنلرڭ رهبری ، علیدر مصطفی نڭ سودکلری

Ff. 40 of 22 × 16·3 c. Copied by Luṭfî, A.H. 1271
(= A.D. 1854-5).

(22) C. 8 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektâshî sale in May, 1901, containing ff. 104 of 23·6 × 14·1 c., and containing:—

(1) A Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 1^b–30^a) in 32 chapters, by *Turâbî*, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

باه بسم اللہی گل دڭله عیان ، شاه مردان ستری در بو گل اینان

and ending :—

‘ بو ترابی جوشوب جان و دلی ‘ سویلدن سن سویلین سن یا علی ‘

(2) *Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat Risdasi* (ff. 33^b–38^b), a tract in Turkish on the manner of Creation, beginning :—

ما خلق الله تعالى آدم ستين لونا من التراب خلق نور محمد
ما خلق في السموات و الأرض و ما خلق جبرائيل ميكائيل
اسرافيل عزرائيل الخ

(3) *Life of Hājji Bektāsh and the Wilāyat-nāma of Hājim Sultān* (ff. 38^b–72^a), the latter filling only 2 pages (ff. 71^b–72^a), entitled :—

هذا مناقب حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی ولایت نامه
حاجم سلطان حضرتلری قدس الله ارواحهم اجمعین ‘

The *Manāqib* begins :—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ‘ اما بعد بلکل کم حق سبحانه و تعالی
خلقى يرا تمقدن مراد اولدرکه علم معرفت عبادة ايکى جهانده الخ

The *Wilāyat-nāma* begins :—

بارک الله فيکم طيب الله انفسکم و رضى الله عنکم و عن
والديکم و عن استاذيکم و عن كافة المسلمين اجمعين حاضرين (sic)
غائبين برحمتک يا ارحم الراحمين بارک الله اعزکم الله
اوتيانلر ايچون دگليانلر ايچون الخ

(4) The *Ākhirat-nāma* of *Firishta-zāda* (ff. 73^b–76^b), beginning :—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ‘ اما بعد ‘ بو فقير عبد المجيد [بن]
فرشته عز الدين الخ

(5) A treatise on the Letters (ff. 76^b–90^b), beginning:—

آب ث ت ج ح خ الى آخره يَا جَا زَا كَا وَعَلِمَ آدَمُ الْأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا الْخ

(6) The remainder of the volume (ff. 91^a–104^a) contains scraps of Turkish poetry, *gülbâns*, prayers, and (ff. 94^b–95^a) an account of the affiliation of Hájji Bektásh and of the spread of his Order, entitled:—

در بیان سلسله حضرت خنکار حاجی بكتاش ولى قدس الله
سره العالی and طریق سرايتی

(23) C. 9 (*Turkish*).

Another collection of Hurúfí tracts, containing ff. 79 of 22·8 × 15·3 c. Bought 22, v, 1901. Contents:—

(1) Tract without title (ff. 1^b–17^a), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هذا (sic) لهذا وما كنا نهتدى لولا ان هدانا الله
. . . اما بعد، بلك كلام الهى و نطق ربانى و كتاب آسمانى
ايچنده واحاديث نبويه ده گوردم كه . . . الخ

(2) The *Faqr-náma* of Virání Dedé (ff. 17^a–51^b), beginning:
الحمد لله رب العالمين، ايمدى اى طالب فضل حتى الحمد
لله دن مراد تنگرى آگمقدر و تنگرى آگمقدن مراد الخ

The colophon is dated Shawwál, A.H. 1059 (= Oct., A.D. 1649).

(3) The *Fayl-náma* (ff. 51^b–76^a), a Turkish *mathnawí* poem, beginning:—

‘سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم’ آدم و حوا در اى ديو رجيم
‘يعنى بسم الله ايسه آدمى’ فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمى

In the colophon (f. 76^a), which is dated the end of Shawwál, A.H. 1059 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1649), it is called:—

الرسالة الفيضية القدسية الموسومة بفيض نامه

(4) The *Tirāsh-nāma* (ff. 76^a–77^a), beginning:—

أول لباسين آلوركن بونى اوقيه وَإِذَا شِئْنَا بَدَلْنَا أَهْمَالَهُمْ تَبْدِيلًا

(24) C. 10 (*Turkish*).

'*Uyūnu'l-Hidāyat*, a Turkish Hurūfī prose treatise with Arabic Preface, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من امة حبيبه و خليه محمد
المصطفى الخ

This Preface (ff. 1^b–3^b) is chiefly in praise of the Twelve Imāms. The Turkish text begins:—

راقم تسويدات المئان صحائف عميان كريدى رسمى بكتاشى
ناتوان بو طرزيله تحقيق بيان حال و بو نېجمله شرح ما فى البال
ايدركه . . . الخ

It thus appears that the author was a Bektāshī named Kiridī Rasmī, or Rasmī of Crete. Ff. 82 of 22·8 × 15·6 c. and 15 lines. The colophon, which is undated, runs:—

كتبه الفقير المحسين من بنده محمود بابا فى الحصار، و منه هو

(25) C. 11 (*Turkish*).

The *Faḍilat-nāma*, a long Turkish *mathnawī* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hazaj* metre, beginning:—

ازل ياد ايددليم حتى و قديمى 'دى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيمى

It appears to treat chiefly of the virtues of 'Alī b. Abī 'Tālib, as stated in the following line in the Introduction (f. 5^a):—

فضيلت نامه سندن مرتضانشد 'بيان معجزه سندن مصطفى زشد
خبر مورددين روايات عليدن 'بيان ايله ديدىگند فضل وليدن

A superficial examination reveals little that is characteristically Hurūfī, the general tone of the poem being Shī'ite.

Bought 7, v, 1903. Ff. 262 of 20×14 c. The *Faḍilat-nāma* ends on f. 247, and the remaining pages of the volume are inscribed with various short poems by Nesīmī, Sarmad, Asrār Dedé, etc.

(26) C. 12.

Risāla-i-Dil u Dānā, a long Turkish *mathnawī* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Efendi al-Oghlānī al-Āq-sarā'ī, beginning:—

‘الها علمنه يوق حد و غایت ‘ خدايا وعفته يوق هيچ نهايت ‘

This is followed by *ghazals* and other poems in which the author uses his name, Ibrāhīm, as his *takhalluṣ*, while in others the *takhalluṣ* Khidr occurs. The MS. is one of the five bought at the Bektāshī sale in Constantinople in May, 1901.

Ff. 116 of 23.3×17 and 19 lines. Good Turkish *naskh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868-9), and runs as follows:—

حرره الحقيق سيد اسعد السعداء چاكر آل عبا عن بنده حضرت
سيد محمود بابا سجاده نشين بدرگاه شريف شهيد لک دلکشادر
روم ايلي حصاری بآلآ قدس الله اسرارهم و نفعنا الله بانوارهم
اجمعين في ٩ رسته ١٢٨٥

In this MS. also I have observed nothing distinctively Hurufī.

III. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(27) ANCIEN FONDS PERSAN, 24.

For full description of this MS., which was acquired 24, vi, 1873, see the *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1898, pp. 63-64. Contents:—

- (1) The *Istirâ-nâma* (ff. 1^b-59^b) of Amîr Abû'l-Yaqîn Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynî al-Astarâbâdî, who mentions (f. 9^a) Ramadân 12, A.H. 846 (= Jan. 14, A.D. 1443), as the date of his conversion. The colophon is dated A.H. 970 (= A.D. 1562-3), and is preceded by the two following quatrains:—

اینست کتاب استوا نامه بنام
 اعلام کند بهشت و دوزخ بتمام
 هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر عدق
 داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام
 هر کو بکتاب استوا نامه رسید
 از فضل بسر نامه خامه رسید
 در یافت بهشت و روز حشر را بیقین
 با معرفت مکتل نام (sic) رسید

- (2) A Persian *Ḥurûfî mathnawî* poem (ff. 62^b-80^b) on Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, beginning:

ابتدا کردم بنام ذوالجلال ' حی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال

On the preceding page (f. 62^a) is scribbled a poem by Khayâlî.

- (3) The glossary of the dialect words in the *Javidân-i-Kabîr* (ff. 62^b-80^b), beginning:—

آبی آوی آون آمی آمیند آمدن آویند
 آنست آورد آوردن آمد آمدند آمدند آویخته

(28) SUPPLÉMENT PERSAN, 107 (*Persian*).

A *Ḥurûfî* work which, for reasons stated on p. 65 *ad calc.* in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, I believe to be the

Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī. For further description see the article above-mentioned, pp. 64-66. Ff. 139. Dated A.H. 895 (= A.D. 1489-90). Copyist, Darwīsh Aḥmad.

IV. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

(29) Or. 40 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwān* of 'Arshī, beginning:—

بَا بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَيْلَهٗ قَرَّانَهٗ اَيْتَدِم اَبْتَدَا

قَاف وِیَا وَدَالِی قِیْلَدِم حَرْفِ وَاحِدَهٗ اَدَا

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *naskh*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid 'Alī Ridā, who describes himself as "dust at the feet of the Family of the Cloak" (see p. 555 *supra*)—خَاكِی آلِ عِبَا. Some of the poems are in Persian. At the end of the volume (f. 128) is a short biographical notice of the poet. He belonged to Yeñi Bázár in Rumelia, and his proper name was Muḥmūd. He originally took the *takhalluṣ* of Chákí (چاكی), which he afterwards changed to 'Arshī (عرشی), because, as he says:—

عُلُغْلُ شَعْرَمِنْ بَعْرَشِ رَسِیدْ زَانِ سَبَبِ شَدِّ تَخْلَصَمْ عَرَشِی

He appears to have lived about A.H. 964 (= A.D. 1556-7).

(30) Or. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hájji Bektásh:—

هَذَا وِلَايَتِ نَامَهٗ قَطْبِ عَالَمِ خُتَّكَارِ حَاجِی بَكْتَشِ وَلِیِ قَدَسِ

سَرِّهِ الْعَزِيزِ

Ff. 132 of 24·3 × 16·8 c. and 17 lines. Poor Turkish *nasta'liq*. Dated 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1274 (= 7 July, A.D. 1858). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The contents are given (ff. 1^b-2^a) as follows:—

(فهرست) حاجی بکتاش ولی ننگ نسبی (حاجی بکتاش بن
 سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم العجّاب بن علی [بن] موسی
 الرضا الخ) و مولودی ' - معلمه ویردکلری ' - خنکار اسمنی
 ویردکلری ' - حاجی دیندیگی ' - خراسان ارنلرینه نشان
 گوستردیگی ' - سوسام بیراغی اوزرنده نماز قیلدکلری ' - اوصاف
 حمیده لری ' - احمد یسوی ننگ اوصاف حمیده لری ' - قُبَّة
 الف و تاچ و خرقه و چراغ و علم و سجّاده ' - احمد یسوی قطب
 الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسالی حاجی بکتاش ولی واروب
 گتوردیگی ' - * احمد یسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی ' - بدخشان
 ملکنی فتح ایتدیگی ' - داریجه اوزرنده نماز قیلدیغی ' - *
 خواجه احمد یسوی اذنیله رومه گلدیگی ' - روم ارنلرینه سلام
 ویردیگی ' - ولی امریه نشان گوستردیگی ابرهیم حاجبه نظر
 ایتدیگی ' - خضرایله ملاقی و بوستاجی یه نظر ایتدیگی اورکوب
 ولایتده گوستردیگی رمز ' - سوچه قریو ننگ قراری ' - اشارت ایله
 دیوار طوغرلدیغی ' - گوستردیگی ولایتی ' - نور الدین خواجه یه
 گوستردیگی ولایت ' - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی ' - زمهریره الما
 صاری یه گوستردیگی رمز ' - بر فقیه امامستی ' - خمیر قیاده رمز
 گوستروب طاش کسدیگی ' - ولایتلرندن بری ' - گندم و مرجمکی
 طاش ایلدیگی ' - امرجمه سلطان ایله رمزی ' - اشارتک قزلجه
 خلوت یاپلیدیغی ' - خضر نیمی ایله ملاقی اولدیغی ' - غائب
 ارنلرینه ملاقی اولدیغی ' - صاری اسماعیلی قونیه یه ملا خنکاره

* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 115^b onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

گوندردیگی در ' - بر چوپانی الیله فرنگستانه آتدیغی در ' -
 قدیجق انایه ولایت گوستردیگی ' - قدیجق انایه نفس ایدوب
 اولادی اولدیغی ' - کوانچ ابداله سؤال ایتدیگی ره-زی ' - دریا
 اوزرنده کمی خلاص ' - قدرینه صفا نظر ایتدیگی ' - سید غازی
 زیارتی ' - گوستردیگی ره-زلر ' - سید محمود خیران ارسلانه بنوب
 گلدیگی ' - یونس امرهیی طبذیق امرهیه ارسالی ' - الخ

From f. 115^b to the end is in verse, and also, as already mentioned, ff. 15^a-30^b. The biography ends with Hājjī Bektāsh's appointment of five Khalīfas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Šārī Isma'īl; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

شکر و سپاس بی غایه و حمد [و] ثناء لانهایه اول واحد فرد یکتا و
 رؤف عظیم بی همتا آفریدگار عالمیانه اول پادشاه اولسونکه الخ

(31) Or. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة فی خواص المفردات العجیبه لدرویش بابا اویس

Risāla fī Khawāṣṣi'l-Mufradāt 'ajība, a treatise on the virtues of the letters, etc., in four chapters, by Darwish Bābā Uways. Ff. 35 of 14.4 × 9.9 c. and 11 lines; written in good *naskh* with rubrications, and dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The author is described as "one of the disciples (*abdāl*) of Sulṭān Sayyid-i-Ghāzī." The text begins:—

الحمد لله الملمم (sic) الاسرار والمطلع شمس علمه القدنی
 فی قلوب انبیائه الخ

The characteristic Hurufi signs for 28, 32, etc., occur throughout.

(32) Or. 43 (*Persian*).

A collection of Ḥurúfī tracts, bought 5, ii, 1901, and containing ff. 112 of 15 × 10 c. On f. 1 is given a list of the abbreviations used by the Ḥurúfīs. The other contents are as follows:—

- (1) The *Shirāb-nāma* of Sayyid Ishāq, a contemporary of Faḍlu'llāh (ff. 2^b–31^b), composed in A.H. 814 (= A.D. 1411–12). Transcription ended on Dhu'l-Qa'da 2, A.H. 1018 (= Jan. 27, A.D. 1610), in the village of 'Ayn Malik in Kurdistān. Scribe, Shujā' Dedé. At the end stand the words: بعون قآ الله الهمهاب. Begins:—

بنام عاشق اول و مَحَبَّتِ ازل كه بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بدیده
تفصیل حیران اجمال الخ

- (2) The *Wilāyat-nāma* (ff. 32^b–58^a), composed in Rajab, A.H. 1030 (= May–June, A.D. 1621), beginning:—

شکرو سپاس و حمد بی قیاس بانئی عالم ناس را كه بوهم و قیاس
و تفرقه و سواس پیرامن سرادقات ذو صفات او نتوان گشت الخ

- (3) Another tract, anonymous and untitled (ff. 58^b–66^a), beginning:—

شکرو سپاس خ خالق را كه از فواتح كلام تفرقه صوری و معنوی
ما را در سلک نظام کشید الخ

- (4) The *Zubdatu'n-Najāt* (ff. 66^b–69^b), beginning (after the doxology):—

بدان ای طالب صراط مستقیم و جوینده راه مجت و رستکاری الخ

- (5) A titleless and anonymous tract which seems to be the *Tahqiq-nāma* (ff. 70^b–86^a), containing 4 *tahqiqs*, and beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و حمد بسی قیاس \bar{c} ا-حد قدیمی را \bar{c} د که قبضه
خاک و قطره آب النخ

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Sharḥ-i-Javīdī*) on the *Járidán-náma* (ff. 88^a-109^a) by "Hájji Efendi," and (ff. 110^b-112^b) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Járidán-náma*.

(33) Or. 44 (*Turkish*).

The '*Ishq-náma* of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dīn (Firishta-záda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430). Ff. 133 of 18.9 × 10.8 c. and 13 lines. Good, clear naskh with rubrications; dated the end of Jumáda ii, A.H. 996 (= May 26, A.D. 1588); bought 5, ii, 1901. The arrangement of the prefatory matter differs from the lithographed edition described above (p. 558 *supra*), but agrees with it in the number, order, and contents of the chapters. Begins after table of contents and doxology:—

حضرت احدیتہ حمد ایتمکدن صغره [و] رسول حضرتینہ صلوة
وسلام ایتمکدن صغره معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم لدنہ الہیہ
فارسی لسانی اوزرینہ ایدی بعد از آن بو روم ملکندہ النخ

The contents of the 32 chapters is given as follows:—

- باب ۱ فی العشق و المحبة ' باب ۲ فی معرفة لوا الحمد '
باب ۳ فی حقيقة الرحمة ' باب ۴ میراث الأرض '
باب ۵ فی کیفیة السُّتِ بِرَبِّکُمْ قَالُوا بَلٰی ' باب ۶ فی المعراج '
باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله ' باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن '
باب ۹ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ اَيَّامٍ '
باب ۱۰ فی حقيقة السكر و التقوى '

- باب ۱۱ فی داتہ الارض ‘
 باب ۱۲ فی اسرار الحج والاحرام و حجر الاسود وغيره ‘
 باب ۱۳ فی کیفیۃ اُمۃ وُسْطٰی ‘ باب ۱۴ فی حقیقۃ صلوة الوُسْطٰی ‘
 باب ۱۵ فی حقیقۃ لا تقرّ با هذه الشجرة ‘
 باب ۱۶ فی تعظیم بیت العتیق و سفینۃ نوح و غیرہ ‘
 باب ۱۷ فی حقیقۃ بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم ‘
 باب ۱۸ فی حقیقۃ الامانۃ ‘
 باب ۱۹ فی سر الحج والعمرة وغيره ‘ باب ۲۰ فی حقیقۃ کشف الساق ‘
 باب ۲۱ فی حقیقۃ الحروف ‘ باب ۲۲ فی السجدة على الساق ‘
 باب ۲۳ فی سرّ طلوع الشمس من مغربها ‘ باب ۲۴ فی کیفیۃ المهدي ‘
 باب ۲۵ فی زمان المهدي ‘
 باب ۲۶ فی حقیقۃ اليوم الذى يخرج المهدي ‘
 باب ۲۷ فی قول المسيح من الحواريين ‘ باب ۲۸ فی حقیقۃ كنز الکعبۃ ‘
 باب ۲۹ فی احاطۃ الاسم الاعظم ‘ باب ۳۰ فی رؤیۃ اللہ ‘
 باب ۳۱ فی رحم حوّا ‘ باب ۳۲ فی حقیقۃ امير المؤمنين على ‘

In the course of the book the author represents it as essentially a Turkish version of the *Jāridān-nāma* in the following words :—

معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم لدنۃ الہیۃ فارسی لسانی اوزرینہ
 ایدی بعد از آن بو روم مملکتندہ فارسی لسانی بلنلر قلیلدر بعض
 الاخوان اہل مشریدن . . . شویله تمئی ایتدیلر کہ بو علم
 لدنیۃ الہیۃ کہ علم تاویلدر ترکی لسانہ گلہ ‘

(34) Or. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'adat-nāma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawlānā Bāyazīd (the title is mentioned on f. 2*, l. 6 of the text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 × 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 995 (= Nov., A.D. 1587). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The following explanation of the genesis of this book occurs near the beginning, immediately after the Doxology, which closely agrees with that of the *'Ishq-nāma* :—

معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم علم الہی در و دخی ابداندر کہ
 مؤدی اولر علم ادیان کہ اَلْعِلْمُ عِلْمَانِ عِلْمُ الْاَبْدَانِ وَ عِلْمُ الْاَدْیَانِ
 مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ عِلْمَ الْاَبْدَانِ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ عِلْمِ ادیان در ' صگرہ بو
 علم الہیۃ فضلّیہ (فضیلہ MS) فارسی دلّجہ ایدی کہ بو بندہ فیاضہ
 بو علم الہی کہ ایرشدی مولانا ابا یزید حضرتلرندن ایرشدی سلمہ
 اللہ فی الدّارین بو بندہ فضل فیاضہ پیر و مرشد اولوب تقلیدات
 ظلمائیۃ جہلیّہ دن خلاص ایلدی . . . بو علم الہیۃ فضلّیہ
 (فضیلہ MS) فارسی دلندن ترکی دلنہ ترجمہ قلدی '

(35) Or. 62 (*Persian*).

A Persian Hurufi *qaṣīda* by Sayyid-i-Sharīf, with Persian prose commentary by the author, entitled :—

هذا شرح قصیدہ سید شریف علیہ الرحمة

On the inside of the cover it is labelled in a later hand "*Jāridān-nāma*." Ff. 196 of 21 × 15·2 c. Good modern naskh, with rubrications; dated A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5). Bought 3, v, 1901. Begins :—

ستایش بر کمال لایت ذات کریمست کہ سؤالات سائلان و تقاضا
 محتاجان در خزانن . . . و ہبۃ وجود او هیچ تنقیص و تنقیضی پیدا
 نمی کند الخ

The *qasida* begins :—

‘ زاهل مدرسه و خانقاه جمله ديار ’ سؤالهاست مرا بر طريق استفسار

The ‘*Arsh-nāma*’ is repeatedly cited in the commentary. The author mentions having met Amīr Sayyid ‘Alī at Tabrīz, when engaged there in making copies for himself of the *Jāvidān-nāma* and other Hurūfī works.

(36) Or. 488 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Dicān* of ‘*Arshī*’, containing ff. 129 of 22 × 16 c.; not dated; bought 18, viii, 1904; beginning as usual :—

‘ با بسم الله ايله قرآنه ايتدم ابتدا ’

Followed (on ff. 124^a–126^a) by the *Miftāh*, or key to the contractions employed in the Hurūfī books, entitled مفتاح كتب حروفیان.

(37) Or. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of 19·4 × 14 c., transcribed by Darwīsh Muṣṭafā in the *tekyé* of Bābā Qayghusuz in the Qaşrū’l-‘Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Şafar 26, A.H. 1223 (= April 23, A.D. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumāda i of the same year (= July 11, A.D. 1808). Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contains :—

(1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu’l-Ḥaqā’iq wa Kashfu’d-Daqā’iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Aynu’l-Qudāt of Hamadān (ff. 1–40).

(2) A Hurūfī work (ff. 42^b–86^b) entitled the *Kashf-nāma* (so in title and colophon), beginning :—

ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم ‘ الحمد
كه ابن اسميله تسميه لنمشدرد أم الكتاب فاتحة الكتاب كتبه وافي
و شافيه وكافيه واساس و سمع المثنانى وام القرآن و سورة صلوات در

(38) Or. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda, agreeing with Or. 44 (see pp. 570-1 *supra*) in beginning abruptly with the table of contents, and agreeing also in the preface which follows this. Ff. 198 of 16·6 × 11·5 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. The '*Ishq-náma* occupies ff. 1^b-191^b, and is followed by another short *Hurúfí* treatise without title or author's name (ff. 192^a-197^a).

(39) Or. 532 (*Turkish*).

A collection of mystical and religious tracts in Turkish, none of which appear to be *Hurúfí*, though one (No. 8) is connected with *Ilájji Bektásh*, on which account the volume is mentioned here. The collection is, however, labelled on the cover *مجموعه حروفیه* (" *Hurúfí* Miscellany "). Ff. 158 of 16·2 × 10·11 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

- (1) The *Huqiqat-náma* of Shaykh *Ṣáfi* (ff. 1^b-13^b), a treatise on Dreams and their interpretation, beginning, after a short doxology:—

اما بعد ' بو بر عجاله در بر عزیزش دلگد ازرنه صفا قرنداش لرنندن
کم آنلرک معرفت حقاری بو ضعیف ازرنه واجب در . . . الخ

- (2) The *Pand-náma* or "Book of Counsel," ascribed in the brief table of contents on the cover to *Da'ifí* (written *صعیفی*), beginning:—

ینه اسمی (sio) الهی ایلدم یاد ' که اولاهر سزم آنکله آباد '

Ff. 17^b-35^b; dated the end of *Rajab*, A.H. 944 (= 2 Jan., A.D. 1538).

- (3) A Turkish poem (ff. 37^b-49^a) entitled in the table of contents *Tuhfa-i-Muḥammad Nāsm*. The heading in the text and initial verses are as follows:—

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمہ اللہ شرح ابو البرکات الشیخ محمد
نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی؟) حفید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد الحی
الاسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز .

بسمله نوریلہ ایچ فالی گلستانہ دن
جوہر عرفانی صاچ لعل بدخشانیہ دن
حمد خدا یلہ کشف ایلہ بو اسراری سن
رفع نقاب ایلوب بکر عروسانہ دن

This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or "Mantle-poem," of al-Búşirí. Ff. 53^b-64^b. No colophon.
- (5) Another treatise on Dreams (ff. 65^b-72^a), and the Seven Circles to which they belong, entitled in the Table of Contents *Risála-i-Fedi Dá'ira* ("The Treatise of the Seven Circles"), beginning:—

حمد اول اللہ کہ جمیع مخلوقات خلق ایتدکن صگرہ
مخلوقات امر اوزرینہ اولسونلر ایچون آلیخ

- (6) The *Tasfiyatu'l-Sulúk* (ff. 72^a-81^a), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitáb-i-Maqámát-i-Awliyá* (ff. 81^b-101^a), by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.
- (8) The *Maqálat*, or Discourses, of Hájji Bektásh (written بكداش) of Khurásán (ff. 103^b-107^b), beginning:—

بلمك گرگ كم خلائق درت بلوك گروهدر

- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqámatu'l-Aqláb* (ff. 109^b-126^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . آلیخ و بعد ، بلگل کہ بر عزیز
رجال اللہ نقدر وارسه شیخ الشیوخ محبی الدین عربی . . . آلیخ

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muḥyiyu'd-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī's *Futūḥāt*.

(10) Another tract (ff. 127^a–132^b), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dá'ira-i-Rijálu'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133^b–134^a) by diagrams of talismans, etc.

(11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmá'u'l-Husná* (ff. 135–157), beginning :

الحمد لله الذى أنعم علينا من النعم و علمنا من الاسماء ما لم
نعلم الخ

(40) OR. 544 (*Arabic-Turkish*).

Ff. 36 of 19·1 × 10·11 c.; bought 21, i, 1905. Contents:—

(1) *Mirātu't-Ṭalibin* (ff. 1^b–2^b), by Zaynu'd-Dīn al-Khwáfī, beginning:—

اعلم ايها الطالب ان جناب الحق سبحانه وتعالى اعلى و اقدس
من أن يصل اليه واحد . . . الخ

(2) *Risāla-i-Nuqṭatu'l-Bayān* (ff. 3^b–36), in Turkish, by “*Shaykh-i-Hudrat*,” in 21 sections, beginning:—

سُرِّبِهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي آفَاقٍ وَ فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ ،
ای طالب اسرار الهی بلکل و آگاه اولغسل که آفاده نشانلر وار
در . . . الخ

(41) OR. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819), of the *Divān* of Nesīmī of Baghdad, beginning:—

دریای محیط جوشه گلدی ‘ کون ایله مکان خروشه گلدی ‘

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 × 16·3 c.; scribe, Hájji ‘Alí.

(42) OR. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Virání Bába, followed (f. 55^b) by the ‘*Uyúnu'l-Hidāya* of Rasnī Efendi the Bektáshí.

Ff. 148 of 17·5 × 11·8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4) by Darwīsh Muḥammad Amīn. Vīrānī Bābā's work (ff. 1^b-53^a) begins:—

ایمدی ای طالب ق حق الحمد لله من مراد تکر تعالی یی
اکمقدر . . . الخ

On f. 5^a Hājji Bektāsh is mentioned as:—

سلطان جهان سید غازی و خنکار حاجی بکتاشی ولی و روح
محمد و علی

The 'Uyūnu'l-Hidāya (ff. 55^b-139^a) begins:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة جليله و خليفه محمد المصطفى الخ

(43) Or. 569 (Turkish).

The *Bashārat-nāma* of Rafi'ī. Ff. 75 of 24 × 16·6 c. and 15 ll.; abundant rubrications; transcribed in A.H. 1268 (= A.D. 1851-2) by Muṣṭafā Nadhīf al-'Alā'ī. There is a prose preface (ff. 2^b-4^b), which, with the title, begins:—

ويستقى مقدمة الحقائق بالبشارت نامه لرفيعى عليه الرحمة
والرفضان قال النبى عليه السلام ' بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات احديهن
اول سبع المثنى اى حكيم ' كدى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '

The wholly poetical portion begins on f. 4^b as follows:—

اولدى يگر مى سكر حرف اى جوان '
احمد مـرئـسل كتابى بـى گمان '
لام الفـله اولدى يگر مى طقـوز '
اولده بر حرف اولدى باشقه شـبه سز '

(44) OR. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diwân* of 'Arshî-Dedé, beginning as usual:—

بَاءَ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اَيْلَهُ قَرَّانَهُ اَيْتَدِمُ اِبْتَدَا
قَافَ وَيَا وَدَالِي قَيْلَدِمُ حَرْفَ وَاحِدَدَه اَدَا

Ff. 105 of 22 × 15·5 c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807–8) by Darwîsh 'Ysâ b. Kumâlu'd-Dîn Khoja of خاگ اقدم موحدین , ارکری کسری , حروفي . Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1^a are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Fadlu'llâh the Hurufî (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339–40), and that of the birth of 'Arshî Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562–3).

(45) OR. 702 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the 'Ishq-nâma of Firishta-zâda, beginning, like the other manuscript copies described above, with the Index (ff. 1^b–2^b), which is followed by the Preface already noticed. Ff. 126 of 20 × 14 c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Sha'bân 1, A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Hâfidh Yahyâ, of the Shâdhili order of darwishes.

INDEX OF HURUFÎ WORKS

REPRESENTED IN THE ABOVE LIST.

The letters placed after the class-marks indicate whether the MS. in question belongs to the British Museum (B.M.), myself (E.G.B.), the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (B.N.), or the Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.).

Adam-nâma (Persian). OR. 5959 (B.M.).

Akhirat-nâma (Turkish), by Firishta-zâda. OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 34^b–57^a; A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 8^b–15^b; C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 73^b–76^b.

'*Arsh-nâma* (Pers.). OR. 6293 (B.M.).

'*Arshî-Dedé, Diwân* of — (Turk.). OR. 6294 (B.M.); C. 6 (E.G.B.); OR. 40 (C.U.L.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.); OR. 677 (C.U.L.).

Asmâ-i-Husnâ. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 135–157.

- Bashârat-nâma* of *Rafî'î* (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 11^b-54^a;
Or. 569 (C.U.L.).
- Bashârat-nâma-i-İldîlî* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30^a-62^b.
- Bayân-i-Ahwdl-i-İashr* (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b-4^b.
- Bektdsh, dar Bayân-i-Silsila-i-İdâjî* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),
ff. 94^b-95^a.
- Bektdsh, Mandqib-i-İdâjî* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38^b-71^a.
- Bektdsh, Maqdlât-i-İdâjî* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103^b-
107^b.
- Burda, Tarjuma-i-* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53^b-64^b.
- Dd'ira-i-Rijâlul'-Ghayb* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127^a-
132^b.
- Diwân.* See under *'Arshî, Muhiyyu'd-Dîn Abdâl*, and *Nesimî*.
- Faḍilat-nâma* (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).
- Fâḍillî, Mîr* —, *Hurufî tract* by — (Pers.). Or. 6381 (B.M.),
ff. 4^b-101^a.
- Fagr-nâma* (Turk.) of *Vîrânî-Dedé, q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17^a-51^b.
- Fayḍ-nâma* (Turk.) of *Vîrânî-Dedé, q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51^b-76^a.
- Ganj-nâma* (Turk.) of *Rafî'î*. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115^b-120^a.
- Ghiyâth, Amîr* — or *Mawlânâ*, *Poems and Musajja'* (Pers.).
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7^b-15^b.
- Haḡiqat-nâma* (Turk.) of *Shaykh Ṣafî*. Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-13^b.
- Hidḡyat-nâma* (Pers.). There seem to be two different works
thus entitled, one wholly in Persian, represented by Or. 6380
(B.M.), ff. 64^b-103^b; the other in Turkish with a Persian
preface, by *Firishta-zâda*, represented by A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 89^b-112^b.
- Ḥikmatul'-Asrâr*, or *Khutbatul'-Bayân* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b-6^a.
- 'Ishq-nâma* (Turk.) of *Firishta-zâda*. Or. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69
(E.G.B.), the lithographed edition; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 5^b-85^b;
Or. 44 (C.U.L.); Or. 531 (C.U.L.); and Or. 702 (C.U.L.).
- Istiḡwâ-nâma* (Pers.) of *Amîr Ghiyâthul'-Dîn Astarâbâdî*. Anc.
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1^b-59^b.
- Jâvidân-nâma-i-Kabîr* (Pers. and dialect). Or. 5957 (B.M.).
Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ec. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.
See my *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University
Library*, p. 69.

Kanzu'l-Ḥaqā'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqa'iq of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Qudāt of Hamadān, translated into Turkish. OR. 530 (C.U.L.), ff. 1-40.

Kāshifu'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'u'l-Ashrār (Turk.), by Ishaq Efendi, printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).

Khāyālī, Poem by — (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), f. 62^a.

Khuṣṣatu'l-Bayān. See *Hikmatu'l-Asrār* above.

Kursi-nāma (Pers.). OR. 6379 (B.M.).

<p><i>Lughat-i-Astardbādī.</i> <i>Lughat-i-Jāvidān-i-Kabīr.</i></p>	{	<p>Glossary of dialect words used in the <i>Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr</i>, explained in Persian. OR. 5957 (B.M.), ff. 485^a-490^a; Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 62^b-80^b.</p>
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Maḥabbat-nāma (Pers.), by Faḍlu'llāh. Suppl. Pers. 107 (B.N.).

Maqāmāt-i-Aqṭāb (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 109^b-126^b.

Maqāmāt-i-Awliyā (Turk.) of Muḥammad b. Ḥamza. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 81^b-101^a.

<p><i>Miftāḥ-i-Hurūf-i-Jāvidān.</i> <i>Miftāḥ-i-Kutub-i-Hurūfiyān.</i></p>	{	<p>A key to the contractions used in the <i>Jāvidān-i-Kabīr</i> and other Hurūfī books. OR. 5957* (B.M.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124^a-126^a; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2^b-3^b.</p>
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Mirātu't-Talibīn (Arab.). OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-2^b.

Misrī, *Nuṭq-i-* — (Turk.), verse by Misrī with commentary by Ṣalāḥī. OR. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 1-32.

Mithālī, tract by — (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 82^b-86^b.

Muḥīyyu'd-Din Abdāl, *Diwān of* — (Turk.). C. 7 (E.G.B.).

Nesimī, *Diwān of* — (Turk.-Pers.). OR. 6290 (B.M.); OR. 567 (C.U.L.).

Pand-nāma of Ḍa'ifī (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 17^b-35^b.

Risāla-i-Aṣḥāb-i-Badr (Pers.), by Ṣalāḥī Efendi. OR. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 84^b-103^a.

Risāla-i-Dil u Dānā (Turk.), by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Efendi al-Oghlānī al-Aq-sarā'ī. C. 12 (E.G.B.).

Risāla-i-Fuḍl-i-Hurūfī (Pers.). OR. 5958 (B.M.).

Risāla-i-Hurūf, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^b-90^b.

Risāla-i-Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 33^b-38^b.

Risāla-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayān (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 1-33 :
OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 3^b-36.

Risāla-i-Yedi Dā'ira (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 65^b-72^a.

Sa'adat-nāma (Turk.). OR. 45 (C.U.L.).

Şaldhī Efendi, Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh —, tract by —. OR. 6295
(B.M.).

Sharḥ-i-Jāvidān, a Turkish commentary on the *Jāvidān-nāma* by
"Hājji Efendi." OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 88-109^a.

Sharīf, Sayyid-i —, *qasīda of* —, with commentary (Persian).
OR. 62 (C.U.L.).

Shirdb-nāma (Pers.) of Sayyid Ishāq. OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 2^b-31^b.

Shuhūdī, Tuhfa and poems of — (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b-3^b and 55^b-76^a.

Sirru'l-Mufradāt (Turk.), by Darwīsh Bābā Uways. B. 15
(E.G.B.), ff. 4^a-5^b; OR. 42 (C.U.L.).

Tahqiq-nāma (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 25-28; OR. 43 (C.U.L.),
ff. 70^b-86^a. These two tracts, however, are not identical, and
the proper title is in both cases uncertain.

Taṣfiya-i-Sulūk (Turk.). OR. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72^a-81^a.

Tirāsh-nāma (Turk.). C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^a-77^a.

Tuhfa-i-Muḥammad Nesīm (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 37^b-49^a.

Tuhfa-i-Shuhūdī. See under *Shuhūdī*, above.

'Uyūnu'l-Hidāya (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); OR. 568 (C.U.L.),
ff. 55^b-139^a.

Virānī-Bābd (or -*Dedē*), prose and verse of — (Turk.). OR. 568
(C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-53^a. See also under *Faqr-nāma*.

Wasiyyat-nāma (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 2^b-23^b.

Wilāyat-nāma (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 71^b-72^a. — of Hājji
Bektāsh (Turk.). OR. 41 (C.U.L.). — (another Pers.).
OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 32^a-58^a.

Zubdatu'n-Najāt (Pers.). OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 66^b-69^b.